Daily Report

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Eyewitnesses Confirm Shkoder Demonstration

AU2903081690 Vienna AZ in German
29 Mar 90 p 6

[Unattributed report: "Mass Arrests in Albania"]

[Text] According to eyewitness reports, in Albania, too, resistance to the Communist regime is increasing. In talks with Western visitors, inhabitants of the northern Albanian city of Shkoder confirmed that there was indeed a protest demonstration in their city on 11 January. Security forces arrested 400 of the about 1,000 demonstrators; 120 of them are still in prison. [Vienna DIE PRESSE in German on 29 March on page 2 carries a report on the same issue attributed to KATHPRESS, which does not give any figures but notes that "the protests are directed not only against political oppression but also against the atheist policy and the ban on excercising any kind of religion."]

Kadare on Need for New Cultural Attitudes

AU2903083890 Tirana ZERI I RINISE
in Albanian 21 Mar 90 pp 3-4

[Interview with writer Ismail Kadare by ZERI I RINISE chief editor Remzi Lani; place and date not given: "Literature, Time, and Albanian Civilization"]

[Text] [Lani] Our young people follow your literary criticism, such as that on Aeschylus or Migjeni, and your work on literary and cultural problems in general, with just as much interest as your novels. We would like to devote this interview to this side of your work, all the more so because large numbers of our readers are directly involved with it as pupils and students.

[Kadare] There is no need for you to try to justify your questions because they are perfectly understandable. These problems are of primary importance today.

[Lani] Thank you for your understanding. You have recently made various criticisms of school textbooks, publications in general, and the study of Albanian literature. It must be said that your criticisms have sometimes been harsh. Could you tell us something more about them?

[Kadare] First, I would like to say that my criticisms were not in the least harsh, but were excessively mild, and it has been on my conscience that I was not able to be rather more severe. The problem of school textbooks, curricula, school readers, literary anthologies, and so forth is of colossal importance not only for our cultural future, but for Albanian civilization in general. Those who do not understand the gravity of this problem, who do not realize that the texts with which Albanian students grow up must meet world standards, who do not understand the need for more publications, bookstores, libraries, publishing houses, magazines, and so forth, do not understand the stature of the Albanian people, do not know this people, and measure the people's spiritual and material demands by the standards of their own narrow minds and impoverished spiritual lives. These people are ready to quote doctrine chapter and verse in support of their mean-spirited vision, but they forget that the free and independent existence of the Albanian people down the millennia stands above any theory or dogma. The nation finds unacceptable any theories, rules, and dogmas that conflict with this supreme necessity, and run counter to the nation's economic well-being, freedom, and democracy. People who are so eager for them, whether officials or specialists, in culture, the economy, diplomacy, or the law must be removed immediately from these spheres, and must yield to young people with free and powerful minds and a broad sense of vision about everything. I think that your paper might play a more significant role in attracting and reflecting the ideas of student-age young people on these problems. I am convinced that there are dozens of young people now who could successfully take the places of a whole cohort of outmoded people whom time has left behind.

[Lani] These are just comments and suggestions for our newspaper. We would also like to know in more detail about your ideas on quality selection, a topic you have recently raised several times, and the place that old Albanian literature should occupy in our schools and curricula.

[Kadare] This question is connected to the pressure exerted by mediocrity to usurp the place of art. The destiny of a country's literature depends on its criteria of quality. Mediocrity attempts to weaken this basic law. If one looks carefully, one is aware of a degree of haste in writing the history of modern Albanian literature at a time when the majority of our writers are still alive and working. This seems truly strange, but there is an explanation. Mediocre writers are attempting to enter the history books without waiting to be selected, in other words, before they are forgotten. They think that they will thereby evade the selection process, but this dream of theirs is a vain one. Meanwhile, if mediocrity succeeds in infiltrating our literature, for however short a time, it will take a great deal of effort to uproot it, efforts that literature could usefully apply elsewhere.

Some of our critics and students bear a heavy responsibility for failing to help matters, and indeed doing the opposite. By trifling with the ideological factor at the expense of the national factor, they have sometimes produced distorted assertions, such as the claim that the Albanian novel supposedly begins in the 1950s, and the like, which are a serious insult to our national culture. Critics of this kind, for example, fail to point out that the first novel in Russian literature is Pushkin's "Eugene Onegin" (written in verse), and if you were to suggest that De Rada's "Milosao," published in the same year, 1836, should rightly be considered the first novel in Albanian literature, eyebrows would be lifted in surprise.

In 1929, 22-year-old student Eqrem Cabej wrote a prophetic article about Lasgush Poradeci, calling him a great Albanian and European poet, but some critics and, unfortunately even some poets, later not only failed to

appreciate Poradeci, but remembered him only so far as to be able to disparage him in the meanest fashion. Meanwhile, satirical verses and unreadable novels have been proclaimed as masterpieces and monumental works merely because they come from the period of socialist realism. I said at our conference of literature recently that our modern literature should not be cosseted merely because it is contemporary and for merits it does not possess.

However, the denigratory zeal of some of our critics has been especially overdone with regard to old Albanian literature, particularly that of the Middle Ages. The way this has been ignored has been and still is monstrous. One has the impression that some of our critics could hardly wait for the antireligious atmosphere in Albania in order to find justification for their scorn for this kind of literature. They have gone to an extreme in this zeal, totally failing to remember that at this time the spheres of religion and culture in Albania, as in all European countries, closely overlapped. "What did Gjon Buzuku [16th century author of an Albanian missal] do?" they ask ironically. "He translated a religious book!" However, like the ignoramuses they are, they do not know (and so much the worse if they do know) that Martin Luther's translation of the Bible in 1534, i.e. only 20 years before Buzuku, marked the start of the literary German language. The monk Gjon Buzuku is a colossus of Albanian civilization and it would be no extravagant honor if his bust stood in front of the Albanian Academy.

Recently, some of our critics and experts have been complaining that they are being criticized and disparaged and that they do not want to put up with it. Nobody has any intention of underestimating our critics; to mention their shortcomings is to show them respect. However, some critics will not learn. They give the impression of saying: "What have we done to be taken to task like this? All right, so we have forgotten and overlooked 300 years of Albanian literature. Is this such a disaster?"

I think there is no honest person in Albania who will not call what I have just mentioned a true disaster, which even resembles the tragedies that Ottoman domination and Serbian chauvinism attempted to inflict on our culture. Only stupendous ignorance or stupendous moral blindness, or both together, can explain such a sorry state of affairs.

Since we are talking about the Serbs, I would like to add that the excessive zeal shown against Christianity has primarily benefited Serbian chauvinism that, aware of Europe's distaste for Islamic fundamentalism, has been at pains to portray the Kosovo Albanians, still today in 1990, as Islamic fundamentalists supposedly fighting against Serbian Christianity! They seem to forget, or are pretending to forget, that the Albanians knew Christianity in the first century, i.e. almost 1,000 years before the Slavs, and that a famous Christian hymn, the Te Deum, was written by an Albanian bishop in the fourth century. Unfortunately, not only do some of our critics ignore such facts, but their aggressiveness against any awareness of them or comment on them merely adds grist to the anti-Albanian mill.

[Lani] You took part recently in the launch of the book, "What the Kosovars Say and Demand." Can you tell us something about it?

[Kadare] A sick psychosis against the Albanians has now been created in Serbia. Incited by the blackest forms of reaction, this psychosis has affected different layers of society, including even intellectuals. If it continues, it will become a dark stain that will be hard to cleanse from the country's conscience. Because it is anti-Albanian, it is also anti-Yugoslav, and even anti-Serb, since it isolates the country from the civilized community of nations.

History shows us that psychoses of this kind, which might be called criminal psychoses, do not occur very often in the world. They are a disaster, first of all, for the country that produces them.

A criminal psychosis is one that drives a country, state, or administration toward crime. Created by the darkest forces in a country, it is enthusiastically amplified by the state's repressive apparatus. These organs then produce the first proposals for state crimes, and are on the alert to collect supposed facts in order to convince the state of what they planned long ago for "when the cup is full." If the "cup" does not "fill" soon enough, they themselves provoke conflicts among people in order to perpetrate their crimes. Blinded by their psychosis, and desperate to prove their perennial theory that without them the state will collapse, they never imagine that the violence they do is a catastrophe for the state and for themselves. Thus, as faithful dogs of the state, they become its destroyers, because, as Marx said, "The first thing that every tyrant or tyrannical regime does is dig its own grave."

[Lani] In your introduction to Migjeni, especially in its second edition, you wrote at considerable length about some writers who represent regressive tendencies in our literature. Can you enlarge slightly on this?

[Kadare] I think that a literature can be properly known only when all its processes of development, whether positive or negative, are fully explained. In the last analysis, this struggle of opposites is one of the first lessons of dialectics. In my introduction to Migjeni, It was not simply out of curiosity that I mentioned such writers as Konica [Faik Konica, 1876-1942, writer and politician, Albanian ambassador to Washington], Fishta [Gjergj Fishta, 1871-1940, poet, Catholic priest in Shkoder], or Koliqi [Ernest Koliqi, 1900-?, prose writer, minister of education under the Italian occupation], but because the literary landscape of the first half of the century, and Migjeni's work itself, cannot be clearly understood without the context in which it was created. These writers contribute significantly to this background. It is well known that their ideopolitical attitudes and some of their works run counter to the generally progressive current of Albanian literature. In the cases of

Fishta and Koliqi in particular, their sympathies for fascism counted against them, and determined the attitude held against them after the liberation. However, it must be said that a very severe attitude was maintained toward collaborationist writers almost everywhere after the end of World War II. It is enough to recall, for instance, the attitude of the United States to Ezra Pound, who is today considered one of the greatest poets of the century in the English language, but who was then imprisoned and even held in a cage under a searchlight, as if he were a wild animal, or the severe attitude of France, where pro-fascist writers like Brasilac were shot.

With the passage of time, and especially now that the circumstances that justified a certain attitude toward problematic writers have disappeared, judgment on these writers can change. The history of world literature recognizes many cases of writers whose views were not in the least progressive, but who nevertheless played their part in the development of literature. To return specifically to the three writers mentioned above, there is no reason why Faik Konica, apart from his deviations, should not assume the place he deserves in Albanian literature, all the more so since his magazine ALBANIA, in its general outlook, was of very great emancipatory influence in the years just before independence.

Regarding the others, I think that ignorance of these writers sometimes weaves legends around them, and creates a mistaken estimation of their worth, which is often imagined to be greater than it is. I think, for example, that the publication of Fishta's works, especially "The Highland Lute," would disillusion readers, especially regarding its literary level. However, this is no reason not to publish it. It is nevertheless impossible to conceive of publishing a book with the aim of discrediting it; on the contrary, the most successful part of a writer's work must be chosen, which in Fishta's case is "The Muses' Arbor."

These publications, accompanied by the necessary critical apparatus, would not only offer the reader and critic the opportunity to trace the continuity of the development of literature in Albania at a certain period, but would help to shed more light on other well-known writers. For instance, a comparison with Fishta would significantly profit another Catholic clerical writer, Ndre Mjeda, while some of Koliqi's novellas, which in their time were interesting, quite apart from and sometimes in spite of the author's outlook, would throw Migjeni's all-around qualities into even sharper relief.

Talking specifically on the relationship between Fishta and Mjeda, I would say that Fishta, despite the legend he created, had a much narrower vision than the modest Ndre Mjeda. Fishta, apart from the excessive dose of folklorism that reduces the artistic value of his work, was a dogmatist, a moralizer, and, more than anything else, an extreme xenophobe. He strove for a general isolation of Albanian culture, confining it within patriarchal values. Mjeda had a broader view of everything. It suffices to recall that as early as 1901, in his poem "Freedom," he challenged the semi-monarchist, semi-chauvinist models offered to the Albanians by aged Europe, and evoked the American Revolution. It seems truly amazing that an isolated parish priest in the Albanian mountains, still under the Ottoman Empire, could talk to the Albanians about the United States, about Washington and New York, and the social order there. This poem includes the famous line, "You have freedom, we are in fetters!"

[Lani] Our literature is becoming increasingly well known abroad. Do you think that our readers are adequately and accurately informed about this?

[Kadare] It is important that our readers should be kept accurately informed about the response our literature wins abroad, not only because it indicates how much weight our culture carries, but because the relationship between Albanian and world literature is one of the factors helping our literature's development. In a word, because Albanian literature is part of world literature, its direct confrontation with world literature is part of its development.

I think that there should be neither jubilation and unfounded boasting about this response, nor sceptical disparagement. Unfortunately, we find both of these. There have been signs of exaggeration among some of our critics and bibliographers when they estimate foreign readers' knowledge of the works of our authors. There have been surprising statements, such as that so-and-so is translated into 20 languages, which leave the reader openmouthed. The reader may rightly ask why he has not been told about this before, and why there has been such a long silence about such cheerful news.

In fact, our critic or bibliographer has committed an impermissible "lapse." He has mainly counted as translations into foreign languages translations that have been published in our country, and especially items in the magazines we publish in foreign languages. However, a magazine such as SHQIPERIA E RE is published in eight languages, and since almost all our writers have published something in it, they have secured themselves, according to our critic, translations into a minimum of eight languages. Add other magazines, and those foreign magazines and newspapers that may really have published something, and it is very easy to conclude that most Albanian writers have been translated in 10-15 foreign languages. Thus our literature emerges as one of the most translated in the world, and there is no need to say that this is very far from the truth.

It is authors who have been published abroad by foreign publishers who should be counted as having been translated into foreign languages. We have five or six such authors who have had whole books published, and about a dozen more whose stories, novellas, or cycles of poetry have appeared. This is not a small number, and we have no need to artificially inflate it.

There have also been ecstatic but unsupported quotations of, for instance, "a French critic," or "a German

critic," who has said such-and-such about the writer so-and-so. The first question in such cases is, what is the critic's name? Nor is this enough. The critic may have voiced this opinion over lunch, which is worth very little, or may have uttered it in print, which is quite another matter. The worst of it is, we have no means of telling.

The other extreme is sceptical disparagement. One commonly finds, for instance at conferences and symposia, that erroneous statements are made about the visibility and spread of Albanian literature. There is, for instance, the flagrant untruth that this literature is best known in France, and much less or not at all in other countries. To show how untrue this is, we only need to point out that, although France takes first place in publishing the largest amount of Albanian literature, France only accounts for one-fifth of the total volume of publications of our literature abroad. To give only one example, the number of translations in Scandinavian languages, taken together, exceeds the number of publications in France.

[Lani] The ninth Central Committee plenum posed important problems for intellectuals. We would like to hear something from you about this.

[Kadare] This no doubt involves our intellectuals in particular. Those who fail to realize that the problem of democratizing the nation's life is, alongside the problem of increasing prosperity, a key issue in modern Albanian life, do not understand anything about the people's aspirations. For the democratization of the nation's life to be genuine and irreversible, it is necessary for everybody to take part in it. When I say this, I am thinking first of all of intellectuals, who must not stand by as onlookers, an attitude that has never been in the tradition of the Albanian intelligentsia. Unfortunately, there are plenty of cases in which our intellectuals prefer this deplorable and somehow amoral attitude. They are even ready to excuse it by creating paranoia and phantoms of various kinds. When serious problems are broached, for instance, they frown and say that these are "delicate matters" or "vexing issues," or "this can turn out badly for you." There are plenty of those who mention stories from the past, when aesthetician X or economist Y, after raising such matters, as they say, suffered consequences, was criticized, lost his position, and the like, or even if he lost nothing, suffered internally, and was so traumatized that he was taken into hospital, lost his mind, and so on and so forth.

In fact, apart from pathological characters, I think that the majority of those who encourage such paranoia know very well that under today's circumstances they will not lose as much as they claim, or, to be more accurate, what they will lose is often something different from what they say. They are wary of raising problems and of putting somebody's nose out of joint because they are thinking about how the list for a forthcoming delegation will be drawn up, about sending their brother-in-law for special medical treatment, and dozens of other similar problems. It is this kind of thing, and not their future, that the petty rage of some boss puts in doubt. However, this kind of intellectual, by being a fraud and postponing matters, uses a very small risk to support his fear, is blown aside by a very light breeze, and sits in a corner waiting for somebody else, whom he calls hotheaded or simply nuts, to do what these clever sorts shrink from. I think that intellectuals of this kind are among the most damaging in modern Albanian society. I also think that no intellectual can consider himself honest if he does not do something, as much as is within his power, for the democratization of life. Democracy, culture, and justice are among a nation's most fundamental values and everybody must do his utmost to cultivate them and ensure they prevail every day and every hour. This culture must most urgently bring the dark regressive forces raised against it to their knees and rout them without the slightest hesitation because this is the only way that our civilization, the noble civilization of the Albanians, will develop and make inexorable progress.

As for the depiction of these problems in literature, I think that this is not only a duty, but a test and opportunity for literature. Democracy and justice have deep and ancient ties with the art of letters. They are, you might say, in its blood. In the hope that I will not make myself tedious, I would like to repeat what I wrote about Aeschylus, in whom it is impossible to tell where the tragedian ends and the defender of justice begins. It might very well be said of him that he was the first minister of justice, not of a government, but of the whole of mankind. A literature that fails to tackle the problems of democratization is not only lame, but places a major moral question mark over itself.

[Lani] One final question, although it may seem very routine: Our readers would like to know what you are working on now.

[Kadare] I am now busy with what is both the most ordinary and most extraordinary task of a writer. I am writing a book.

Further on National Assembly Session

Iliev on Economic Program

AU2903143790 Sofia BTA in English
1352 GMT 29 Mar 90

[Text] Sofia, March 29 (BTA)—Mr. Ivan Iliev M.P. took the floor to set forth the opinion of the National Assembly standing committees on the government programme.

On balance, the programme is assessed in very positive terms. The committees support the transition to a market economy as the principal goal of the reform. At the same time, they would like the role of business contacts with the Soviet Union for Bulgaria's development during the current year to be given due attention and position, with an explicit requirement for higher-quality Bulgarian exports and for prompter Soviet deliveries. The government should draft and submit to the National Assembly a state property denationalization bill. State-owned companies and enterprises should be given considerable leeway and conditions should be created for their operation and development to depend solely on their performance. The committees call into question the tax regulation of the increase of the wages bill and suggest, although the prime minister is categorically against it, that the matter be debated once again. Some of the committees' remarks concern the drafting of a land and land use act. The bill that is now available does define explicitly the pivotal principle that the land belongs to those who till it. The principle of arable land transferability by purchase and sale should be reconsidered and revised. It is further recommended that if this principle is not dropped, severe limitations should be imposed on the purchase and sale of land while leaving intact the principle of arable land being inheritable. The standing committees' members are apprehensive about the suggestion that the heirs to contributors of land to the cooperative farms should be allowed to claim it back, to lease it out or to sell it to the cooperative farm. The provisions on solving social problems are found wanting, as they do not take into account the influence of the convertible currency market rate on prices and on wages and incomes of low-paid and all other working people.

'Crisis' Measures Discussed

AU2903162990 Sofia BTA in English
1541 GMT 29 Mar 90

[Text] Sofia, March 29 (BTA)—The National Assembly considered the urgent economic measures suggested by Mr. Andrey Lukanov's government for 1990. The government said that the economic crisis affecting the country consists in an overall imbalance of the national economy, a slowdown, an excessive increase of the foreign debt, a severe shortage of consumer goods and a budget deficit.

Urgent measures and a radical economic reform, which should secure a fast transition to a market economy, are needed to help the economy out of this state of affairs.

The reform of ownership is a priority task. A number of legislative amendments have been and are being introduced to place all types of ownership: state, municipal and private, in legally equal conditions and under constitutional protection. Part of state property is being denationalized and cooperative, shareholding and private ownership is being encouraged. As early as by the end of March the government will consider suggestions to convert state- owned companies into joint-stock companies, possibly with foreign shareholding. State-owned businesses in industry, construction, road and water transport, distributive trade, public catering, services and tourism will be sold to cooperative and private companies (foreign ones included).

The government recommends that companies lease out individual machines, equipment, premises, transport vehicles, workshops, small and medium-sized businesses. Companies and cooperatives will be granted tax concessions on their leasehold earnings. By the end of May the government will prepare a legal framework laying down rules for the establishment of private joint-stock banks.

As early as in February 1990, specific measures were taken to encourage free enterprise in agriculture. Government contracts for agricultural produce have been cancelled. This year grain, milk, meat, eggs, sunflower, and sugar beet are the only farm products with state-fixed purchasing prices. All farmers, irrespective of the form of ownership, are entitled to keep 50 per cent of the foreign currency earned by a direct export of their own produce.

Pricing is being substantially liberalized. The proportion of market-priced goods has grown from 12 per cent in 1989 to 40 per cent and the proportion of market-priced services has reached 60 per cent. The retail prices of luxury foods and nonfoods and imported nonessentials will be deregulated. Nonessentials will be put up for auction as from May 1, 1990. Dwellings will be sold without state interference, and the prices of de luxe residential units will be freely contracted. The state will subsidize the retail prices of scarce commodities and resources made available on the market.

The report indicates that all outstanding social problems will not be solved this year, as this would require a dramatic increase of the foreign debt. The programme of immediate action envisages cutbacks in public expenditures, a switch-over to production of goods salable for hard currency or meeting urgent consumer requirements.

Exchange rates will be market-based.

An important part of the programme is a deep restructuring of production and consumption in line with the modified market conditions.

Investment will be slashed by 20 per cent from 1989. Construction and assembly work will go down 30 per cent. Some building projects will be suspended until experts determine whether they are environment-friendly. More public money will be invested in domestic programmes, with a priority being assigned to housing, health care establishments, pollution-control facilities, schools and public services.

The government is introducing a credit policy stimulating the operation of new capacities for hard-currency-earning exports at the expense of exports to the CMEA [CEMA] countries. The government warns that failing this, jobs will be lost in a number of enterprises.

The state will secure the availability of raw and prime materials to all private manufacturers who can start a fast-growing production of goods exportable for convertible currency.

Shortages will persist in the home market, as the government has no other way to normalize the balance of payments. Private manufacturers will be provided with incentives and lifted legislative restrictions.

The government hopes to bring the foreign currency deficit from 1,326 million dollars in 1989 to some 700 million dollars this year.

The government, however, does not seek export at any rate. Compared to 1989, the planned export will be worth 200 million foreign leva more, but will amount to merely 60-70 per cent of the 1982-1983 export.

A clear priority is assigned to agriculture, and the proportion of industry diminishes considerably in the composition of production. Farm production is expected to increase 3.2 per cent.

Documents have already been enacted to help farmers out of their cash problems and to give them genuine market terms before the end of this year.

Within industry, the proportion of the food and the light industry will grow, and mechanical engineering production will drop by 17.4 per cent. Metallurgy output will decline, too, due to a short supply of feedstock and for ecological considerations.

The conversion of the defence industry will help to balance the economy.

Considerable changes are envisaged in foreign economic relations. The export to the CMEA countries will decrease but the import of essential energy and raw material resources will be retained.

The government programme envisages state subsidies for the producers of staple foods so as to keep their prices unchanged.

Funds will be allocated on a priority basis for the supply of medicines.

The government points out that the fulfilment of this programme will depend on an adequate use of the new economic regulators, on a sustained work balancing and on streamlining organisation and tightening discipline. The situation requires forbearance from strike action, the report says.

Deputies Criticize Polish Editor

AU2903184990 Sofia BTA in English 1719 GMT 29 Mar 90

[Text] Sofia, March 29 (BTA)—During the afternoon session of the National Assembly today, Adam Michnik, member of the Polish Sejm and editor-in-chief of the Warsaw newspaper GAZETA WYBORCZA, became the target of attacks on the part of some national representatives at the National Assembly because of the statements he made last Sunday on the Bulgarian Television.

During the debates on the anti-crisis economic programme of the government three M.P.'s [members of parliament] criticized angrily the leadership of the Bulgarian Television and Kevork Kevorkyan, the anchorman of "Every Sunday," the most popular TV programme, for having let Adam Michnik "abuse Bulgaria and the achievements of the Bulgarian people" on the television which is under the control of the National Assembly. A demand was made that the Parliamentary Commission on Matters of the Radio and Television should take to task those responsible for allowing "such a malevolent anti-communist like Michnik to speak against socialism."

The same M.P.'s made a protest in connection with a commentary of a TV journalist who said that the present M.P.'s were "appointed" to their seats instead of being elected by the people.

The speeches made by these M.P.'s were applauded.

In response to these charges and demands Prof. Ilcho Dimitrov, chairman of the Parliamentary Commission for Matters of the Radio and Television, said that as after the interview with Adam Michnik a number of national representatives made protests, an agreement was reached with Pavel Pisarev, chairman of the Committee for Television, that until the elections foreign citizens who directly or indirectly "campaign" in favour of this or that political force would not be allowed to take part in TV programmes. He did not meet the demand of some M.P.'s to make a special decision and condemn the practice of television journalists.

"The Bulgarian Television is controlled by the National Assembly and our commission is just an auxiliary body," he explained.

Prof. Ilcho Dimitrov's explanation was received for information.

Economic Program Approved

AU2903185390 Sofia BTA in English
1803 GMT 29 Mar 90

[Text] Sofia, March 29 (BTA)—In the National Assembly this afternoon, the debates on the government programme took more than three hours. They were defined as "serious," "reform-minded," and, what is the most important, creating the conditions for a transition to a market-based economy.

Attention was focused on the problems of agriculture. The prevailing opinion is that the land law should be published for nationwide discussion the soonest possible and that it should be adopted after holding a referendum.

The chairman of the Council of Ministers, Mr. Andrey Lukanov, took a stand on the remarks and recommendations made by the M.P.'s [members of parliament]. He agreed with the view expressed by the commission for socio-economic development according to which the entire system of cooperation with the CMEA [CEMA] member-nations should be drastically restructured, "if we want to make use of the already created deep structural interrelations and if we want to preserve our market positions; this holds true especially for the Soviet Union," he said.

He accepted the recommendation that relieving the state from its control functions should not be considered an administrative task. The responsibility for state control should go to the parliament and it should be regulated by a law.

In his view the land law should take into account the principle that the land belongs to those who cultivate it, therefore the problem of land property should be settled according to this principle.

Mr. Andrey Lukanov agreed with the remark that the social part of the programme should be strengthened.

The National Assembly approved the programme of the government for overcoming the economic crisis and carrying out an economic reform.

Assembly Ends Day's Session

AU2903190090 Sofia BTA in English
1808 GMT 29 Mar 90

[Text] Sofia, March 29 (BTA)—Before today's National Assembly session was closed, the national representatives were informed about the measures taken by the government to solve the problems of the Bulgarian citizens who returned from Turkey.

The occasion for the briefing was the presence of a group of representatives of these citizens who have been in front of the building of the National Assembly since yesterday [28 March]. Last year 330,000 people went to Turkey and 110,000 of them came back.

Their problems arise in connection with the housing they have sold, the appointment to previous jobs, the restoration of students to their rights and the receipt of the Bulgarian money deposited with the customs on crossing the border.

Ms. Nora Ananieva, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, announced that the last two problems have almost been settled.

A special commission is working on the solution to the housing problems and job reappointment; it will also take measures for the just settlement of these problems.

It was decided that Ms. Nora Ananieva and several M.P.'s will have a meeting with a delegation of the demonstrators to inform them on what has been already done.

The session continues its work tomorrow. The National Assembly will discuss the political parties law, the amendments to the Constitution, the election law. This evening these laws will be debated at the national roundtable talks.

Roundtable Debates Political Reforms

AU3003063290 Sofia BTA in English
2043 GMT 29 Mar 90

["Authorities and Opposition Fail to Reach Agreement on Political Reform"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, March 29 (BTA)—The eagerness of the ruling Communist Party to have a powerful president before the parliamentary elections can be qualified as a desire on the part of the BCP [Bulgarian Communist Party] to replace Article 1, which was deleted from the Constitution and which used to guarantee its supremacy in society, by a Man No. 1, Petko Simeonov, a member of the delegation of the Union of Democratic Forces (SDS), said today at the session of the national roundtable which went on with debates on the political reform.

The participants in the roundtable talks were very close to reaching an agreement on the basic ideas and principles of the three major bills of the political parties, of the amendments to the and of the elections. The bills are to be considered by the National Assembly at its present session.

According to the participants in the talks, delimiting the functions of the authorities is a foundation-laying principle which should be consistently applied throughout the transition to democracy.

The delegations of the major political forces in the country agreed on holding elections for a Great (Constituent) Assembly in June; the Constituent Assembly should work out and adopt a new Constitution. They agreed that Parliament will be made up of 400 national representatives elected through a mixed system half of them on the basis of majority, the other half by using the proportional election system.

There is no difference of opinion as to the political parties bill.

Most argued was the presidential institution. All agreed that the now existing State Council is unnecessary. Only few raised objections against the presidential institution in principle. But the Union of Democratic Forces does not agree with placing the president above Parliament. A speaker of the Bulgarian Agrarian Party (BZNS) proposed that the problem of the presidential institution should be settled by the future National Assembly a proposal made also by the representatives of SDS. BZNS suggested a way out of the extended debates, namely, to preserve for the time being the State Council, but to change its functions. The ruling party insisted that the presidential institution should be introduced immediately. Its representatives suggested to submit the matter to a referendum.

At the session which continued until late tonight none of the three documents were signed. It was decided that the national roundtable will resume its work tomorrow.

Government Revokes Extra Payments for Leaders

AU2903183190 Sofia BTA in English 1730 GMT 29 Mar 90

[Text] Sofia, March 29 (BTA)—The Bureau of the Council of Ministers adopted a decision by which the instruction of 1968 which makes provisions for paying bonuses to leaders as an additional material incentive is revoked. By this decision the payment of bonuses to stimulate leaders of the National Assembly, the State Council, the Council of Ministers, ministers, heads of departments, etc. is stopped.

These were one-time bonuses paid after the closure of the respective year to the amount of 18 to 50 per cent of the salary of leading personnel members who did not receive bonuses in any other form.

The Bureau of the Council of Ministers considers that in the future the principles and the size of the remuneration received by state leaders should be determined by the National Assembly.

'Death Camps' Chief Spasov Under Arrest

AU2903182990 Sofia BTA in English 1422 GMT 29 Mar 90

[Text] Sofia, March 29 (BTA)—Retired Colonel General Mircho Spasov, 80, an ex-first deputy minister of internal affairs, has been taken into custody, the Armed Forces Prosecutor's Office announced.

The announcement says that Spasov is held on charges of "aiding and abetting gross embezzlement in the conditions of a sustained crime in the 1977-1981 period and in connection with the inquiry into the events between 1959 and 1962 in the camps near Lovech and in the village of Skravena, Sofia Region."

The media disclosures and the reminiscences of survivors from the two "death camps," where some inmates were held without charge or trial and many were tortured and killed, have given rise to a major public outcry in this country.

Mircho Spasov, who was in charge of the Lovech and Skravena camps until they were closed down, claims in a RABOTNICHESKO DELO interview that he inspected the Lovech camp only once and did not find anything wrong there. However, he admits that the oversight measures were "obviously inadequate."

Today's RABOTNICHESKO DELO quotes a former camp guard as saying that Spasov used to visit the Lovech camp "every week and even twice a week." "He would always tell us, 'work them to death,'" reminiscences Mr. Tsvyatko Goranov, a member of the camp guard.

"Can Mircho Spasov possibly believe that he is not guilty? Why did he urge us to 'put the screws on them' instead of having the camp closed down when the death certificates of the victims were put on his desk?" the RABOTNICHESKO DELO reporter was told by Tsvyatko Goranov, who is afraid of poking his nose out of his house in the town of Pelovo. His windows have been smashed and a "living butcher" graffito has appeared on the wall.

Spasov Expelled From BCP

AU2903200290 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1930 GMT 29 Mar 90

[Text] The Central Commission on Party Ethics of the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP] reviewed the party status of Mircho Spasov Khristov. A decision was make to expel him from the BCP because he has lost his qualities as a Communist, abused the party trust, and blackened its name.

It was decided to hand the documents collected by the investigators of the Central Commission on Party Ethics to the Chief Prosecutor's Office.

At the recommendation of the Supreme BCP Council, the Central Commission on Party Ethics reviewed the activities of party members who had taken part in the crimes committed in the so-called corrective labor camps. On the basis of the data submitted to the commission, the opinion was expressed that Petur Golov, Tsvyatko Goranov, Kiril Aleksandrov, and Nikola Gardzhev do not have a place in the BCP ranks. Former Internal Affairs Minister Georgi Tsankov was expelled from the BCP in 1968.

Spasov: Politburo Set Up Camp

AU3003104490 Sofia BTA in English 0903 GMT 30 Mar 90

[Text] Sofia, March 30 (BTA)—The forced labour camp near Lovech was set up by a decision of the Politburo of

the CC [Central Committee] of the BCP [Bulgarian Communist Party] and of the Council of Ministers, says retired General Mircho Spasov in an interview for the DEMOKRATSIYA daily. Gen. Spasov was deputy minister of the interior at that time and took charge of that camp. In an interview for RABOTNICHESKO DELO, which appeared yesterday, Mircho Spasov only hinted that Todor Zhivkov and all members of the then leadership knew about the camp. In the DEMOKRATSIYA interview Gen. Spasov admits his guilt but adds that no one tries to find out what role the Communist Party and the authorities as a whole played in "these disgraceful deeds in Lovech and elsewhere." In his interview yesterday Mircho Spasov denied that he was personally responsible for the extrajudicial killings in the Lovech camp, and now he tells DEMOKRATSIYA: "We did not create the system, the system created us and we served it loyally, which is our great fault."

As reported earlier, Mircho Spasov was taken in custody for investigative proceedings. RABOTNICHESKO DELO says that he has been expelled from the Communist Party.

Allegation of Illegal Silver Deals Denied

AU2903125290 Sofia BTA in English
0952 GMT 29 Mar 90

["Further Information About the Transactions With Silver"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, March 29 (BTA)—Recently DEMOKRATSIYA published sensational discoveries under the headline "25 Tons of Silver Goes From Sofia to Zurich," "Traces Lead to the Intercommerce Foreign Trade Organization." In today's issue RABOTNICHESKO DELO runs an article on this occasion.

It turned out that transactions were made with 39 tons of silver. Ikomev, set up in 1959 and registered in Vaduz, Lichtenstein, has mediated for Intercommerce. "All transactions of Intercommerce have been realized in compliance with the normative documents acting in this country and under the established foreign trade regime," says before RABOTNICHESKO DELO chairman of the Economic Council and director general of Intercommerce Ivan Deev. "We cannot speak of any kind of 'illegal trade,' of 'covert companies.' On the contrary, Ikomev and other companies in which we are participating have been officially registered."

The reply to a question why is Ikomev presented only with a P.O. box in Sofia, is that this is necessary due to the character of its activity which mainly consists of reexport transactions in which it is not obligatory that the purchaser should know from where the goods have come.

According to Deputy Minister of Foreign Economic Relations Konstantin Glavanakov, there is no flow out of national treasure by the Intercommerce transaction, the "is an inflow of treasures through the diverse 20-year-long activity of this organization." [sentence as received] "This is a company, Glavanakov says, which we would like from now on to serve as example for the other companies in compliance with the market mechanism." He confirms that all operations are approved by the Ministry of Foreign Economic Relations and are controlled at several levels. Mr Glavanakov insists that if Intercommerce is injured morally or materially before its partners due to the publication in DEMOKRATSIYA, responsibility should be sought for the missed profits.

Glavanakov has also been personally affected by DEMOKRATSIYA. The paper quoted a letter addressed to him as director general of Intercommerce in a time when he already had been deputy minister.

Nobody rejects that there had been such type of transaction, RABOTNICHESKO DELO writes in the end; the question is, however, whether it had brought a profit. According to the information which the paper has, a special check up of this case was launched by the Ministry of Finance.

Lilov Participates in Stara Zagora Rally

AU2903194490 Sofia Domestic Service
in Bulgarian 1930 GMT 29 Mar 90

[Text] A mass rally organized by the Municipal Council of the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP] took place on 29 March in Stara Zagora. BCP Supreme Council Chairman Aleksandur Lilov spoke about the processes of renewal within the BCP.

Opposition Declaration Against BCP Name Change

AU2903171090 Sofia BTA in English
1452 GMT 29 Mar 90

["BCP Shuns Responsibility, Opposition Says"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, March 29 (BTA)—The attempts of the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP] to usurp the name of the Bulgarian Socialist Party are unprecedented and not ethical. There already is a Bulgarian Socialist Party, remind opposition groups and parties in a joint declaration.

The referendum held by the ruling party with its members for its new name is declared to be "cosmetics and an attempt on the part of certain forces within the BCP to shun the responsibility for the catastrophe they pushed Bulgaria into." At the same time it is admitted that the BCP has the right to seek a new name, a new image and raison d'etre, but not at the expense of the other political forces in the country, it is said in the declaration.

The opposition parties support the real Bulgarian Socialist Party, the establishment of which was officially proclaimed on December 31, 1989.

BCP Serbezov Announces Increase in Members

AU2903120790 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 24 Mar 90 pp 1, 4

[Interview with Rumen Serbezov, Bulgarian Communist Party Supreme Council secretary, by RABOTNICHESKO DELO correspondent Angel Bonev; place and date not given: "Nearly 8,500 New Communists"]

[Text] [Bonev] News from all over the country is reaching us indicating that a near majority of people from the younger and middle-aged generations are eager to join the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP]. How do you explain this "paradoxical situation?"

[Serbezov] Yes, such news is coming from all muncipalities. They confirm that our party, which looks back on a century-old history and often has been resurrected from the ashes, cannot perish. Vigorous, young blood is strengthening the BCP today. As many as 8,410 new members joined the party between 10 November 1989 and 1 March 1990. Only 1,450 members voluntarily left the party within the same period. In March 1990, for example, the party organization in Gyueshevo village, Sofia Oblast, examined the applications of 23 citizens who wished to join the BCP, 19 of whom were accepted, and 16 of them are young people.

[Bonev] Are you not worried about the fact that part of the "Communists" might "get lost" somewhere on the road when they are changing their places of residence?

[Serbezov] A party member who is conscientiously and convincingly professing the ideas, principles, and goals of the BCP, cannot "get lost." His moving to a new place of residence is certainly not a test for the strength of relations between the party organization and its members.

[Bonev] It may perhaps be a test for the municipal BCP councils?

[Serbezov] Yes, the initiative of the municipal party councils plays a great role in this respect. They must maintain contacts with the party members who are changing their places of residence and follow their movements. They are also expected to assist and provide the facilities for new clubs, by placing part of their own premises at their disposal. The most important thing is that the district party organizations should become centers of attraction for all those who are willing to support the restructuring process.

[Bonev] In certain municipalities, the Communists are leaving the party cells in enterprises, but they pursue their internal organizational life in their vicininy. Does this not signify that they are formally leaving the party organizations?

[Serbezov] We resolutely reject all dogmas and restrictions upon organizational life. Every individual party member, every organization is free to find the most appropriate form for its party activities. The main thing is that members should be interested in their activities, that they should be willing to remain in the organization. Life experience already suggests specific forms of activities. Clubs with the status of party organizations, clubs based on common interests, and various sections have emerged. In certain places, they may be more closely linked to an enterprise, or to an administrative office, in other places they may be more closely connected with the rsidential district.

[Bonev] We have received some tips, though they are only a few for the time being, indicating that certain party organizations stubbornly refuse to leave the enterprises. What do you intend to do with them when persuasion does not help?

[Serbezov] This is not a question of persuasion, but of relations between the party statute and the law. Our present BCP statute envisions the right of choice: A party organization may be established either in a workplace, or on the basis of residence. However, if the law on political parties should ban all political activities in workplaces, our party will comply with this requirement, of course. No one is above the law!

We already withdrew our party organizations from the offices of the Ministry of National Defense and the Ministry of Internal Affairs, from the courts of justice, and the prosecutor's offices. In addition to the fact that the party voluntarily renounced its legislative privileges granted by the Constitution, it also eliminated various forms of prerogatives and of exercizing influence upon economic and administrative activities. This clearly indicates the trend we are pursuing.

[Bonev] Do you not think that some of the Communists in the district party organizations and, especially, the older generations are more inclined to be conservative?

[Serbezov] I think that it is unfair to classify party members according to their age. Their reaction is understandable, and we should apply a more relaxed approach to them. The emergence of different opinions and of internal disputes indicates that a real renewal is beginning in our party. We are parting with the outdated pretense of unanimity.

Our main task today is to explain the objective requirement of changing the party's name. This proposal should be accepted and discussed in a more rational, rather than in an emotional, way. The name is the party's indentification in the eyes of the whole world, it expresses our renewal. The approach to this important question will be reflected in the present referendum.

[Bonev] Is it possible to achieve a drastic upsurge in the party's reformist forces as a result of the increased polarization of our political situation?

[Serbezov] It is true that clubs of the "Bulgarian Road to Europe" the "Alternative Socialist Association," of the "BCP—Democratic Forum," and of the Movement for Democratic Socialism are emerging in Sofia, Plovdiv,

Varna, Ruse, and other larger cities. Their activities are further expanding in the situation of increased polarization.

All reformist forces within the party, both those that are organized in ideological groups and those that are outside of such groups, can greatly contribute to the party's renewal. For this reason we are supporting their upsurge.

[Bonev] The impression exists that the majority of the primary party organizations are still waiting for instructions from the top. How do you intend to overcome this passive attitude?

[Serbezov] It is true, but we should never forget that we are now living through a real political and social upheaval. Everything is new—both the country's situation and our international relations have changed. Our party itself is new: This applies both to our policy and to the cadres. Over 80 percent of the central party organs' personnel are newly elected. The renewal of the municipal party councils is also nearly total, because 60 percent of the chairmen were exchanged. This profound change is a source of potential strength. Numerous energetic young people with fresh initiatives and original thoughts have joined.

The focus of party work has also shifted from the center to the primary party clubs and municipalities, and this is presumably the most substantial change. In the past, we greatly relied on the payroll apparatus, while today we have adopted a basically new approach. We will mainly rely on the rank-and-file members' activities.

Over 40 percent of the party apparatus on the payroll is expected to be eliminated from the local party committees by 15 March 1990. The oblast BCP committees have been eliminated. This percentage is expected to be even higher in the central apparatus, and the trend continues.

I am convinced that our people, with their innate common sense and realistic approach, are correctly evaluating the processes under way within the party, and that we can rely on their support.

New 'Balkans-2000' Club Established

AU2903110090 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 24 Mar 90 p 6

[Text] Diplomats, foreign trade workers, scientists, lecturers, students, and journalists established a new "Balkans-2000" Party Club. Nonparty members sharing a common interest in Balkan countries and their relations are also accepted as members.

The club is expected to submit alternative proposals on our national policy, on the peaceful construction of the common European home, on expanding and improving relations with neighboring countries, and on protecting national interests and the interests of Bulgarian citizens in other Balkan countries. "Balkan-2000" is ready to cooperate with other clubs and organizations. It can be reached through the following telephone number: 20-69-17.

Deputy Defense Minister on Army Budget

AU2903133990 Sofia NARODNA ARMIYA in Bulgarian 23 Mar 90 pp 1, 3

[Report on interview with Colonel General Khristo Dobrev, first deputy minister of national defense, by unidentified representative of NARODNA ARMIYA Editorial Board; place and date not given: "Are the Funds for the Country's Military Defense Large or Small?"]

[Text] As is known, at the 15th session of the National Assembly, the people's deputies approved by a vote the defense expenditures for 1990. The subject of the military budget has recently given rise to many discussions and varying opinions among different circles of our public opinion. In order to shed some light on this very important problem, to avoid certain contradictions in the interpretation of the specific figures, and to enable them to be compared with both Bulgarian defense expenditures in recent years and the expenditures of some of our neighbors and of other countries in Europe, a representative of the Editorial Board interviewed Colonel General Khristo Dobrev, first deputy minister of national defense and chief of the Bulgarian People's Army [BPA] General Staff.

[NARODNA ARMIYA] Comrade colonel general, during its 15th session, the National Assembly approved a defense expenditure for 1990 of 1,656.6 million leva. Do you consider that these funds will ensure the successful defense of the country?

[Dobrev] The National Assembly approved the 1990 defense expenditure after they had first been discussed in the Defense and Internal Affairs Commission, where we put forward our arguments in defense of the amount you have quoted. The 1990 defense budget is in conformity with three main realities.

The first of these realities is our country's defensive military doctrine, which leaves its stamp not only upon the development of the Armed Forces, but also on the military budget. The present budget takes into account the cuts in the strength of the Army, armaments, and combat equipment made last year. The new deliveries planned in the budget are mainly directed toward the purchase of equipment for conducting defensive operations.

The second reality is the present model for our Army's development, in conformity with our national interests and commitments to our allies. This model is reflected in the Law on General Military Service, under which the BPA is kept up to strength. This is a model in the course of development, which increasingly combines national security interests with reasonable sufficiency and our country's resource capabilities.

The third reality is the country's serious economic situation, chiefly the budget deficit and our state debts. In this situation only such means are allocated for defense as to guarantee the maintenance of the Army and the most pressing deliveries of arms and equipment.

Accordingly, in 1990 we will not, so to speak, live off the fat of the land, but the budget adopted by the National Assembly does guarantee the country's defense interests.

[NARODNA ARMIYA] A budget of 1,605.1 million leva was announced for 1989, yet for 1990 it has been fixed at 1,656.6 million leva. How would you comment on these figures?

[Dobrev] First of all, I would like to draw a distinction between the budget of the Ministry of National Defense and the defense expenditures. The figure of 1,605.1 million leva for 1989 represents the budget of the Ministry of National Defense, whereas the amount of 1,656.6 million leva covers the expenditure on defense, of which 1,615.0 million leva relates to the Defense Ministry budget.

As can be seen, compared with 1989 a growth of 10 million leva is envisioned.

In the preliminary draft, we stated a figure of 1,640 million leva for the Defense Ministry budget (35 million leva more than in 1989). The reasons for this increase was the rise in the prices of a number of types of material equipment and the change in the foreign currency coefficient. This figure was checked with the Ministry of Planning and Economy, and formed the basis upon which we made our calculations up to 25 December 1989.

Following this date, because of the state's serious financial situation, the issue was raised of further reductions in the budget. In consultation with the Ministry of Finance, we agreed on the figure of 1,615.0 million leva.

How does this figure look against the background of the expenditure during the last four years?

Year	Defense Ministry Budget (million leva)	Percentage of State Budget
1986	1,713.0	8.78
1987	1,728.0	8.38
1988	1,751.6	7.62
1989	1,605.1	6.37
1990	1,615.0	

It becomes clear from the dynamics of the expenditures that the proportion of financial means allocated from the state budget for defense shows a steady fall.

The difference of 41.6 million leva between the figures of 1,615.0 and 1,656.6 million leva does not represent direct expenditure by the Ministry of National Defense, but is connected with the country's defense. Of this amount, 22.1 million leva is for construction of defense installations for civil departments, and 19.5 million leva is circulating capital. The latter amount is to be handed over to the "Navy Arsenal" Shipyard for the repair of ships, but at the end of the year, after the sums for the completed repairs have been received, it will be remitted back into the state budget.

[NARODNA ARMIYA] The figure of 1,615.0 million leva is a very general one. Would you explain how it is allocated?

[Dobrev] The Defense Ministry budget for 1990 is allocated as follows, in millions of leva:

—For maintaining the BPA (wages fund, communal and everyday personnel services, logistic support, machines and installations, spares, etc.): 986.8

—Scientific research and experimental-design work: 7.7

—Purchase of arms, equipment, and property (home production and imports): 566.0

—Military construction: 54.5

[NARODNA ARMIYA] Comrade colonel general, how would you assess the size of our military expenditure, bearing in mind our country's geostrategic situation and the military efforts being made by our neighbors?

[Dobrev] The People's Republic of Bulgaria is situated at the most important crossroads between Europe, Asia, and Africa, and is in direct contact with NATO countries, which possess great combat potential and have powerful troop formations located close to our borders. Our government is making efforts to improve our mutual relations with these countries. Last year we made unilateral cuts in the BPA, but our example was not followed. It is no secret that our mutual relations with Turkey are burdened with certain problems. In this situation, we are obliged to allocate the necessary funds for defense and maintaining the country's military potential at a level that guarantees our sovereignty and security. Neither as an absolute value nor as a proportion of the state budget are these funds any greater than those that other countries with a similar military strategic situation allocate for military purposes.

In order not to talk vaguely, I will provide the following data: In 1988 the Republic of Turkey allocated 11.6 percent of its budget for military purposes; for 1989 the figure was 11.9 percent, and the figure planned for 1990 is 12.4 percent. In 1989 the Hellenic Republic spent 9 percent of its state budget on defense. In addition, these two countries received considerable military aid without payment from the United States and the FRG.

What is the picture regarding the military expenditures of countries outside our region? Let us take as an example neutral Switzerland, which has not waged a war for centuries. In 1990 Switzerland plans to spend 19 percent of its state budget on national defense.

Here is another example. Belgium is a member of NATO. It shares no borders with any of the Warsaw Pact countries, but nonetheless allocates 5 percent of its state budget to military needs.

Any unprejudiced person may reach his own conclusion on whether the funds that our country spends on defense are large or small.

Military Prosecutors Decline To Take Cases

AU2903115390 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 22 Mar 90 p 2

[Evgeni Ivanov report: "Military Prosecutors Want To Be Higher Up"]

[Text] A competent source from the Ministry of Justice reports that there have been increasingly frequent delays in cases examined by the military courts. The reason for this is the refusal of certain military prosecutors to take part in the court hearings. Naturally, they do not do this at their own wish, but carry out an an order from the Armed Forces prosecutor. This order in turn arose as a result of the instruction issued earlier by the chief of the Ministry of Justice's Military Judicial Department to the district military judges.

The latter instruction lowered the height of the benches of the military prosecutors to the level of the other participants in the court hearings, with the aim of introducing a spirit of greater democracy into court procedure.

Under Article 71, Paragraph 3 of the Regulations for Organizing the Work of the Regional, District, and Military Courts, the prosecutor, public counsel for the prosecution, private plaintiff, suitor, private council for the prosecution, and the appellant occupy their set places on the right side of the court, while the clerk, the accused, public counsel for the defense, defendant, and respondent sit on the left side. The desired height has not been determined. In rule-of-law states, the two sides are at equal heights, since it is considered that their chances should be the same.

Platform of New ABC Movement Described

AU2903130390 Sofia OTECHESTVEN FRONT in Bulgarian 22 Mar 90 p 2

[Article by Assistant Professor Boyan Lalov, member of the leadership of the ABC Movement: "ABC—Vanguard of Our Revival"]

[Text] The ABC Movement has already been formed and is entering the public-political stage with the following goals:

—Defense of Bulgaria's national independence as a supreme value.
—Protection and development of democratic principles for a full multiparty public life, without which no freedom or progress is possible.
—Concern for the demographic problems of the Bulgarian nation.
—Development and increase of the country's intellectual potential, attraction of experts, and measures to prevent specialists leaving the country.
—Restoration and protection of Bulgarian nature.
—Development of the national economy as an inseparable part of the entire world economy. Utilization of tried and tested mechanisms well established in world practice in order to raise the national economic potential and technological level. Revival of the Bulgarian countryside and the Bulgarian's love for the land. Development of tourism and high-technology industrial branches with a minimum outlay of materials and energy in order to prevent pollution of the environment. Protection of the Bulgarian people's living standard.
—Active participation in the international system of scientific, technological, educational, and humanitarian exchange with practical tasks conforming to Bulgaria's specific needs and the contribution it can make.
—Protection and development of Bulgarian spiritual and moral values, traditions, and national customs. Mutual aid and assistance between Bulgarians living throughout the world.
—Preservation and enrichment of the homeland's material values.
—Guaranteeing conditions for the growth of a healthy and vital nation!

The ABC is a movement. Every Bulgarian and anyone who has sympathy toward Bulgaria may take part in it, irrespective of the party to which he belongs. The movement stands above the struggle of the political parties. This saves it from the temptations of adopting moves and decisions for temporary advantage, which entice politicians who strive for power and often neglect long-term national interests.

The ABC Movement expresses its readiness to freely cooperate with the Fatherland Front and other movements in order to achieve common goals along the path of democratization.

Staykov, Ozceri Open Diplomatic Talks in Ankara

AU2903132290 Sofia BTA in English 1224 GMT 29 Mar 90

[Text] Sofia, March 29 (BTA special correspondent)—Delegations of Bulgaria and of Turkey, led by the two countries' first deputy foreign ministers, Mr. Stefan Staykov and Mr. Tugay Ozceri, opened talks in Ankara today.

The heads of delegation held a preliminary session at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. It lasted for more than two hours. Later on, at the opening of a plenary session, Mr. Ozceri and Mr. Staykov stressed that the talks will be held in a calm atmosphere.

Mr. Stefan Staykov emphasized that the current talks in Ankara are necessary and useful for both parties. He expressed the confidence that the meeting in Ankara will witness progress in the directions outlined at the talks between the ministers of foreign affairs of Bulgaria and Turkey in Ottawa.

Although the members of the two delegations decline to disclose the subject of the talks, they can be expected to produce a specific programme for a discussion and settlement of the existing problems between Bulgaria and Turkey. A clue to this is the inclusion in the negotiating teams of high officials and experts from a number of departments of the two foreign ministries.

Turkish Deputies Visit First Time Since 1984

TA2903131190 Ankara Domestic Service in Turkish 1000 GMT 29 Mar 90

[Text] Since 1984, when problems arose concerning the Turkish minority in Bulgaria, no Turkish official had been allowed to visit Bulgaria. After a long break, two Turkish deputies held contacts in Bulgaria last week. Ismail Sengul, Motherland Party deputy from Denizli; and Erol Agagil, Social Democratic Populist Party deputy from Ankara, met with officials in Sofia and toured certain places together with a delegation of NATO parliamentarians.

In a statement to Turkish Radio and Television, the two deputies noted that the solution of the economic and social problems in Bulgaria, especially the problems of the Turkish minority, will depend on the attitude of the government that comes to power following the elections in June. Pointing out that the current regime favors restoring all the rights of the Turkish minority, Sengul and Agagil said that the implementation of the decision on reinstating Turkish names is causing confusion. The deputies stressed that not all Bulgarian officials share the same views on this matter. Sungul and Agagil noted that the Sofia administration is now aware that the economic system is paralyzed and that the establishment of a democratic parliamentary system is inevitable.

Protest in Petrich Against SFRY 'Campaign'

AU3003104690 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 24 Mar 90 p 6

[Report by Municipal Correspondent Grigor Dzhamdzhiev: "Patriotic Event in Petrich"]

[Text] "Macedonia—cradle of the Bulgarian spirit"—this was the slogan of a protest rally organized by the Committee for the Defense of National Interests, the "Todor Aleksandrov" Bulgarian Cultural-Educational Society, and the municipal leaderships of the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP] and the Bulgarian National Agrarian Union [BZNS].

The speakers expressed the indignation of the Pirin area population caused by the increased anti-Bulgarian campaign in the SFRY. The new experiment of Skopje politicians in antagonizing the feelings of Bulgarians in our country's southwestern part was denounced.

"Mysia, Thracia, and Macedonia—an inseparable part of the Bulgarian motherland," "Where are Bulgarians in the Socialist Republic of Macedonia?" "Macedonians are as much Bulgarians as the Mysians, Thracians, and Shopis [inhabitants of the area near Sofia]," "How long will the Socialist Republic of Macedonia pretend that Bulgarian history is Macedonian history?" These were some of the inscriptions on banners carried at the rally, which ended with a declaration to the SFRY Assembly, the presidency of the Socialist Republic of Macedonia presidency, and the Bulgarian National Assembly.

Prague Protest on Soviet Pressure on Lithuania

LD3003090490 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 0400 GMT 30 Mar 90

[Text] A protest meeting was held in Prague's 6th municipal district yesterday in which several dozen Prague citizens expressed their views on the course currently taken by Soviet authorities in Lithuania. They voiced their support for the Lithuanian endeavor and also that of the Latvian and Estonian people to restore their state independence. They also stated their concern at the course taken by Soviet authorities in Lithuania, which they described as unacceptable pressure. The participants in the meeting also called on Czechoslovak representatives to take note of the stand of the protesting public, weigh the possibility of recognizing an independent Lithuanian republic, and condemn the continuing occupation of Latvia and Estonia.

Havel Message to Gorbachev on Lithuania 29 Mar

LD2903154190 Prague CTK in English 1400 GMT 29 Mar 90

[Text] Prague March 29 (CTK)—Czechoslovak President Vaclav Havel today sent a telegram to Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev saying that any form of violence in Lithuania, including threats, can seriously harm the effort at a peaceful set-up in Europe.

He said he was convinced that the only possible solution to this serious situation is an open and just political dialogue between representatives of the Soviet Union and Lithuania. Czechoslovakia is ready to provide services and neutral territory for this dialogue, the president added.

He also sent the same telegram to Chairman of the Lithuanian Parliament Vytautas Landsbergis.

Official on Problems of Soviet Military Presence

AU3003103590

[Editorial Report] Prague ZEMEDELSKE NOVINY in Czech on 23 March on page 3, under the headline "Tension Still Persists," carries a 750-word interview with Alojz Cingl, deputy chairman of the Zvolen district national committee, by Anna Korimova. The interview concerns problems caused by the Soviet forces' presence in the region.

In Korimova's opinion, the greatest problem is caused by the air base at Sliac. According to Cingl: "This is indeed a problem. Previously, jet aircraft flew overhead. Now, in addition, helicopters fly close to Zvolen six times a week. They fly all day up to 2100 and even later. It is absolutely impossible to watch television and tiles are falling off many roofs. On the basis of citizens' complaints, we held talks with representatives of the Soviet forces. However, a year after the units from Olomouc moved here, they are not even trying to adhere a little to what we demanded. The problem mainly involves the air corridor and the height of the overflights. During our last talks, we achieved a promise from them that they will only fly twice a week up to 2100. Cooperation with the original officers at the air base was considerably better. Now it is complicated; they feel offended. I am not surprised. After all—as our citizens say—in our country they have it like in America."

Korimova wants to know about the ecological situation in the areas where Soviet troops are deployed. Cingl replies that the situation is "literally catastrophic. It will be necessary to remove from Sliac and Vlkanova the soil that has been contaminated by oil and chemicals."

Another question concerns the commencement of the Soviet forces' departure from the Zvolen District. According to Cingl, "the first part of the air regiment from the Sliac air base will begin pulling out in mid-April. The second part of the withdrawal will take place from 15 September to 15 October. However, the last soldiers will not depart from our district until May next year. This is not terribly gratifying news, but, at least, it is specific."

Czech, Slovak Ministers Conclude Moscow Talks

LD2803165390 Prague CTK in English 1131 GMT 28 Mar 90

[Text] Moscow March 28 (CTK)—Justice Ministers of the Czech and Slovak Republics Dagmar Buresova and Ladislav Kosta concluded their three-day talks here today.

They held talks with USSR Justice Minister Veniamin Yakovlev, chairman of the USSR Supreme Court Yevgeniy Smolentsev, USSR General Prosecutor Aleksandr Sukharev and Russian Federation's First Deputy Justice Minister Yuriy Severin.

Dagmar Buresova told CTK she was very pleased that, after many years, talks with the Soviet partners had been open and equal. They agreed with Ladislav Kosta that today Czechoslovakia and the Soviet Union are resolving analogous problems in the sphere of justice. Czechoslovakia, thanks to its republican and democratic traditions, has undoubteldy more experience which it is willing to offer the Soviet side.

Ladislav Kosta said they were both convinced that Soviet officials are truly determined to build a law-observing state and that it is an irreversible development. This can also be seen in judging future cooperation.

Dagmar Buresova further stated that they were the first Czechoslovak ministers in Moscow after President Havel's visit and they think that, in a way, they are pioneers of new forms and new equal cooperation.

Sacher Interviewed on CIA, FBI Visits

AU2903094690 Prague LIDOVA DEMOKRACIE in Czech
26 Mar 90 p 1

[Report on interview with Interior Minister Richard Sacher by unidentified LIDOVA DEMOKRACIE reporter in Prague on 25 March: "Without Threats From Terror and Drugs"]

[Text] Yesterday, Richard Sacher, deputy chairman of our party and federal interior minister, returned from his visit to the United States a little tired after his long flight, but content. After being welcomed at Ruzyne Airport by B. Svoboda, first deputy chairman of the Czechoslovak People's Party, P. Nebesky, deputy mayor of Prague, and J. Navratil, chief editor of LIDOVA DEMOKRACIE, the minister replied to a few of our questions.

[LIDOVA DEMOKRACIE] You left for the United States with specific proposals for cooperation in the struggle against international crime, terrorism, and drug trafficking, for the protection of nuclear installations, against forgery, and for the extradition of people and the surrender of property in particularly serious cases. How were these proposals received?

[Sacher] Very well. Both by Mr. W.S. Sessions, the director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI), and by Mr. W. Webster, director of the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA). Our common interest is to ensure that people in both countries live happily and without threats from terror, drugs, and so on. Our proposals formed the basis for concluding bilateral agreements and, undoubtedly, these will be signed in the foreseeable future.

[LIDOVA DEMOKRACIE] What forms will this cooperation take?

[Sacher] Our U.S. colleagues are willing to help us with everything we ask for. We will specify individual tasks according to our needs. One of the most immediate tasks which our U.S. partners will help us with are the preparations for the Holy Father's visit to Czechoslovakia.

[LIDOVA DEMOKRACIE] Could you give our readers some details of your talks with the director of the CIA?

[Sacher] I spent several hours at the Central Intelligence Agency and, obviously, was the first Czechoslovak citizen to enter this agency's building. I held consultations with teams of experts in East European policy and also with analysts specializing in East European countries. The level of analysis at the CIA is very high, just as in the entire intelligence service. Later I had talks with Mr. Webster. I think we concurred on all standpoints.

[LIDOVA DEMOKRACIE] What was your most striking personal experience in the United States?

[Sacher] It was rather peculiar. I recently signed an agreement with Mr. Kryuchkov from the Soviet KGB and was photographed with him under the statue of Dzerzhinsky. Four weeks later, I was photographed with Mr. Sessions at his request while shaking hands in front of the U.S. flag. This moment is made even more unique by the fact that foreign feet should not tread in the CIA or FBI buildings. I think that if I had lost my visitor's pass, I would not have returned to Czechoslovakia today.

New Commercial Agreement With EC Planned

AU2903145690 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech
23 Mar 90 p 14

[CTK report: "Preparation of a New Agreement"]

[Text] Brussels—A Czechoslovak delegation has held talks with officials from the EC's supreme executive body, the European Commission, about an agreement on trade and commercial and economic cooperation.

The head of the delegation, Jiri Nemec, deputy foreign trade minister, described the agreement, which is still under preparation, as an entirely new type of agreement compared to the one which had been concluded between the EC and Czechoslovakia in 1988. That agreement only covered trade in industrial products, whereas the new agreement will extend to all trade and will include all spheres of cooperation, including technology, research, industry, banking, and others.

Dienstbier, EC Ambassadors Meet 27 Mar

LD2803140590 Prague Domestic Service in Czech
1930 GMT 27 Mar 90

[Text] Minister of Foreign Affairs Jiri Dienstbier met today [27 March] the ambassadors of the EC member countries. They assessed the current state of cooperation between Czechoslovakia and the EC and prospects for their development.

Komarek Signs Economic Accords in South America

AU2803114690 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech
21 Mar 90 p 13

[CTK report: "An Interest in Possibilities"]

[Text] "In recent years, many South American countries have attempted to reform their economies and because we are now faced with a similar task, all their experiences and information are valuable to us," said V. Komarek in an interview with a CTK reporter.

"I would say that they do not endorse harsh, restrictive approaches, including counterinflationary ones, very much; for example, as in the case of Argentina or Bolivia. On the contrary, reform in Chile, oriented toward development which has led to considerable economic growth and to consolidation of the country's situation, appears to be the most successful.

"Not only did I sign an agreement in Chile on the resumption of diplomatic ties between both countries, but I am coming home with a number of suggestions for

economic cooperation. At the moment, this cooperation does not correspond to the possibilities and potential of the Chilean economy.

"In Brazil, for example, we initialed the preparation of a large contract for Czechoslovak participation in the reconstruction of the transport system in the city of Belo Horizonte. This contract is valued at $200 million. The possibilities are immense; there is considerable interest in Czechoslovakia everywhere. I even have to say that in many places they overestimate our possibilities, and we cannot fulfill all their requirements," said V. Komarek.

Cultural-Scientific Cooperation With Spain Noted

LD2803152590 Prague CTK in English 1317 GMT 28 Mar 90

[Text] Prague March 28 (CTK)—Czechoslovak Foreign Minister Jiri Dienstbier and his Spanish counterpart Francisco Fernandez- Ordonez signed here today a program for the two countries' cooperation in science, education and culture for 1990-1992.

The document creates conditions for intensification of cultural exchange, contacts of universities and scientific work places and for extension of scholarship stays, putting an exmphasis on improvement of teaching of Spanish in Czechoslovakia and Czech and Slovak in Spain. It also gives an impetus to start negotiations on the establishment of cultural centres in the two countries.

Spanish Foreign Minister Ends 2-Day Visit

LD2903212290 Prague CTK in English 2042 GMT 29 Mar 90

[Text] Prague March 29 (CTK)—Spanish Foreign Minister Francisco Fernandez-Ordonez today ended his two-day official visit to Czechoslovakia which took place at the invitation of his Czechoslovak counterpart Jiri Dienstbier.

Shortly before his departure he told newsmen that Spain will support Czechoslovakia's efforts at the admission to the European Communities which, according to him, should be carried out in May, and to the Council of Europe after the June elections.

The Spanish minister expressed full support for Czechoslovakia's stand that the European Security process is to be based on the Helsinki process. In this connection he stressed that Spain pays great attention to Czechoslovakia's proposal for the creation of a European security commission.

He told CTK that in the near future a Spanish trade delegation will visit Czechoslovakia to find out ways of improving the present state. He also expressed belief that the forthcoming visit to Spain by Czechoslovak President Vaclav Havel and Federal Assembly Chairman Alexandr Dubcek will contribute to the development of mutual all- round relations.

Klaus Delivers Budget Speech to Assembly 27 Mar

LD2803121290 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 0816 GMT 27 Mar 90

[Speech by Finance Minister Vaclav Klaus to Federal Assembly in Prague on 27 March—live relay]

[Text] The government of national accord established on 10 December last year proposed to the Federal Assembly at its meeting on 13 December not to debate the draft bill on the state budget of the federation for 1990 drawn up by the previous government, and to introduce a provisional budget for the first quarter of the current year. This procedure, which was based on the law governing budgetary rules, was approved by you, and the government immediately set about drawing up a new state budget for 1990 and the relevant law. The draft has been submitted to today's meeting of the Federal Assembly, and I have been empowered to present it.

In this connection I regard it as important and useful to say a few words regarding the method used in drawing up the draft budget, for the reason that it differs in certain aspects from the previous practice.

We proceeded above all from the analysis of the development of the Czechoslovak economy and budgetary management during the past, in essence 20-year period. That analysis threw up a whole number of findings, especially in regard to mutual relations between the development of the economy and budgetary management, and unhealthy trends which were manifested in it. Their results confirmed our conviction that the budget for 1990 must signify a radical departure from the existing development, above all in the sense of switching to an anti-inflationary orientation of the budget and in the sense of making a gradual transition from paternalistic state attitudes to the enterprises, the concept of the state as a protector of public interests.

Another change lies in the fact that the preparation of the budget has become a far more public affair than was the custom in the past. Explanation of fundamental approaches to the drafting of the new budget has been widely publicized in the media; it has provoked debates and sometime even polemics. We do not, however, resist this, for this corresponds to the current trends in public awareness and makes it possible to better examine all aspects of budgetary policy. I would like to stress that debates by Federal Assembly deputies, too, made a contribution in this regard.

In all these debates we have placed the main emphasis on clarifying the indispensable function which the state budget has to play in carrying out radical economic reform based on a gradual but at the same time relatively rapid and organized transition to market economy. That strategy was explained in the policy statement and other government documents and the summation of it is being prepared for discussion by the government in the first

half of April, the state budget thus understood is therefore not an isolated step but is a part of the entire reform procedure.

Furthermore, a critical assessment of the original draft budget, especially in regard to its expenditure side, formed a starting point for the drafting of the new budget. We concentrated above all on certain unproductive expenditures and on subsidies to enterprises. The essential need to curb them was one of the basic findings that emerged from the analysis both of the previous development and the current situation.

There is no need to say that the current state of the national economy is dismal. The premier spoke about it in his report on the state and development of the Czechoslovak Federation, which the Federal Assembly discussed on 27 February. The development of the past decade was marked by the slowing down of economic growth.

The economy was out of balance, and inflation, although still relatively low, is a reality. Irrespective of whether inflation manifests itself in an overt, covert, or suppressed way, it always has a negative impact on economic development, living standards, and the distribution of products.

All the well-known problems affecting the economy, its stagnation, unbalanced development, low effectiveness, and irrational price structure, are reflected in the state budget, in the financial trends. The past economic policy drove the state budget more and more into a deficit situation. The restructuring of the economic mechanism, within which measures taken signified a further one-sided burden of the state budget, also made its own contribution. The restructuring of wholesale and procurement prices instituted on 1 January 1989, which signified a marked increase in the so-called negative tax on turnover—which in effect meant a subsidy on consumption—was an example. The stability of retail prices was, however, not the only thing tackled on account of the state budget; there was also the inefficiency of a number of enterprises and their losses, and finally also the unfavorable trend in our economic relations with foreign countries. As a result of all this, the volume of resources redistributed by the state budget grew. The legacy that the present government has inherited in the state budget was and is burdensome. Relations of enterprises vis-a-vis the state budget and superior bodies were in essence individualized as a result of planning, which was overwhelmingly oriented toward dealing in kind. The budget was sentenced to playing a passive role, and the aforementioned individuality in relations had an unfavorable impact on the prosperity of enterprises and their efficiency and initiative.

The state budget itself lacked lucidity and was thereby difficult to understand. It contained a number of items which concealed within themselves expenditures that did not really belong together. Specific revenue and expenditure relations were shaped by a number of exceptions, concessions, and specific adjustments. The extent of information about the state budget that deputies had at their disposal was limited. In the material that has been submitted to today's meeting, the first step was taken to remedy this state of affairs. This is borne out both by its structure and, above all, by its extent in comparison with the material submitted in past years.

A big problem for the state budget, and thereby the whole Czechoslovak economy, was its excessive participation in the financing of enterprises in the shape of both investment subsidies and those of a noninvestment nature. The extensive system of redistribution in this regard had a negative impact on the adaptability, flexibility, and efficiency of the economy. As a result, this system hindered economic development. It enabled inefficient and loss-making enterprises to survive, to the detriment of the prosperous ones, and it became the instrument of conserving the inefficient and clumsy Czechoslovak economic structure.

A certain stability in budgetary management, which was difficult to maintain, became disturbed more and more during the past year by the rapid growth of expenditure on so-called public consumption. This is a painful recognition, the more so because the current standard of the health service, education, and other areas far from corresponds to what we would like for our children and grandchildren, for our parents and grandparents.

The economic figures are, however, merciless. Public consumption has been growing over a long period of time noticeably more rapidly than national income and consumes a relatively increasingly greater proportion of the state budget.

The entire past development was at the same time marked by high expenditure on defense, which restricted the possiblity of using budgetary resources for other purposes.

A further but not final burden on the state budget is the big subsidies on consumption. The state budget covers differences between the level of wholesale and retail prices in selected kinds of goods in widest consumption, and in particular food products. I would like to state only for illustration that the volume of the negative tax on turnover grew during the next 20 years more than 15-fold and that today it represents the amount of roughly 50 billion Korunas [Kcs]. If more and more subsidied food is purchased by foreigners, whom we certainly do not want to subsidize, that amount will be in excess of Kcs 50 billion this year.

The negative development trends in the budget led to budgetary management in 1989 ending with a deficit amounting roughly to Kcs 7 billion. The previous government failed to reverse this trend. On the contrary, in its draft budget for 1990, it reckoned with a deficit amounting to double the original figure. That draft was impossible to maintain at the onset of the economic

reform, and this is why the budget had to be redrawn, and this redraft is being submitted to you today.

Esteemed deputies, the budget submitted constitutes a fundamental step by which the government strives to break away from the past economic and social distortions and the old administrative and bureaucratic methods of managing the economy. The budget is an anti-inflationary one and has at the same time a transformational character. After many years the draft budget submitted has a surplus of revenue over expenditure, amounting to Kcs 5.4 billion. In other words, the draft of the new state budget for 1990 pursues a fundamental change in the government's financial policy, which can be characterized as a transition from the expansive, but in view of the economic situation, inflationary state budget to a restrictive financial policy, which can be characterized as a departure from the cheap money policy.

To a laymen it might appear that there is a certain contradiction in this new financial policy. People point at the neglect of the health service, education, and the ecology and the obsolescence of the manufacturing base. It would appear that it is necessary to invest, repair, and modernize everywhere, and that the government is at the same time curbing budgetary expenditure. The reason why we are curbing expenditure from the state budget is not in order to put a brake on our economic and social development; the truth is exactly the opposite. We are doing this in order to force all organizations to manage properly and in order to eliminate imbalance in the economy and thereby to create conditions for a sound economic development in the future.

We see the path toward the elimination of our backwardness in the creation of harsh conditions for the management of every enterprise and organization, not in feeding the economy with inflationary money. We are conscious of the fact that the approval of the surplus state budget is not the end of everything, for the implementation of this policy will be much more complicated. It is well known from past experience that enterprises, national committees, and other organizations are accustomed to submitting in the course of the year further demands, which cannot be allowed this year. Moreover, we have to point out already today that in case the envisaged state budget revenues are not met, it will be necessary to carry out in the course of this year relevant corrections in the budgetary expenditures.

Esteemed deputies, the overall budgetary revenue should reach Kcs 420 billion this year, an increase of 2.9 percent in comparison with 1989. Almost half of this revenue comes from taxes and levy payments from enterprises, set on the basis of the law on levy payments approved by you last year. It can be said that the financial situation of enterprises will not change a great deal in aggregate terms this year in comparison with past years. Concealed behind this statement is, however, a considerably different situation in individual enterprises, where in a number of instances financial resources will not be sufficient to meet allocations to various enterprise funds. In the past these problems were tackled by way of an administrative redistribution of profits and depreciations within the framework of production-economic units and enterprises or by way of subsidies from the budget. In the future the reallocation of this type will be provided for by the financial market, which will be gradually established.

In the current transitional period, however, there exist a number of enterprises which are incapable of adapting themselves rapidly and which have been burdened with high costs, investments that have no future, and marketing policy that has not been clarified. These enterprises are demanding subsidies from the state budget, concessions from levy payments, and various exceptions. We will naturally tackle justified cases, but we must realize with all seriousness that the resources of the budget are limited and that their larger use by such enterprises would mean a restriction on other types of expenditures.

The turnover tax continues to remain an important source of the budgetary system. Its net yield is, however, markedly reduced by the previously mentioned so-called negative turnover tax, which originates in those cases where wholesale prices are higher than retail ones. This situation constitutes one of the biggest problems in our irrational price system. It has an unfavorable impact on the conduct of both producers and consumers and, last but not least, on budgetary revenues. Intensive work has now begun to prepare changes in this area and, at the same time, on the reform of the tax system, of which the transition to a value-added tax and taxes on consumption will be an important element.

The third basic component of budgetary revenue is formed by taxes and payments by the population, where income tax still plays the key role. With the development of private enterprise by citizens, the importance of the tax on the population's income will, however, increase, although significant concessions are at present provided.

Esteemed deputies, the anti-inflationary and transformational impact of the budgetary policy is manifested in the new draft of the state budget, above all in cuts in subsidies to enterprises and in curbing budgetary expenditure on so-called nonproductive purposes. Overall subsidies to economic organizations, including unified agricultural cooperatives, are being cut by 10 percent. In other words, the proportion of these subsidies in terms of overal budgetary expenditure has declined from 19.2 percent to 17.1. In other words, there has been a two-percent drop in the new state budget. It is clear that the measures adopted constitute only the first step, for the volume of these budgetary subsidies is still too excessive, and in the years to come it will be necessary to markedly speed up the pace of their reduction.

The reduction of subsidies concerns above all the biggest item of the funds provided to enterprises, the so-called noninvestment type of subsidies, which in comparison

with 1989 have been cut by 7.5 percent. This concerns primarily the reduction of subsidies for agricultural complexes and subsidies for ore mining and ore refining. The subsidy for dealing with the consequences of the revamping of wholesale and procurement prices has been abolished. Further claims to subsidies of a noninvestment nature have been verified; some have been abolished and others cut. These measures do not concern those instances in which cuts in subsidies would have a negative impact on the environment. Subsidies for these purposes have been increased moderately, and a new subsidy to the fund for the protection of forests has been generated. The problems of loss- making passenger transport have also been tackled in connection with the transition by Czechoslovak State Railways and automobile transport to general conditions of economic management, although the government intends to tackle this very area in the immediate future.

Budgetary subsidies provided to enterprises for investment purposes have been cut against the original draft budget by Kcs 1.6 billion, and they remain at the level of last year, 1989. An important portion of them goes to the state program of ecological investment in both republics, and in the reserves of the state budget of the Czechoslovak Federation a further sum of Kcs 500 million has been earmarked for these purposes.

The restrictive policy in the field of investment subsidies is, however, linked with considerable problems concerning organizations with unfinished construction projects that have been classed as binding commitments in the state plan for which financing was secured in the past by, among other things, concessions on levy payments from profits or by a redistribution of financial resources within the framework of production economic units and sectors. The tackling of such cases can no longer be mechanically transferred to the state budget. After thorough investigation, their further financing must be tackled in justified instances by way of investment credits and by the use of the instruments of the emerging financial market. The solution of employing resources of the state budget, for instance, by way of a returnable or other form, will be totally exceptional.

The second basic direction of the endeavors to curb excessive budgetary expenditure is the area of expenditure on so- called nonproductive purposes, although we ought to drop this term now. Expenditure on defense, security, and other expenditure of a defense nature, which in comparison with the original budget are being reduced by 12.5 percent, constitute the key item here. After the cut in defense expenditure last year by Kcs 1.5 billion, this constitutes another significant step in this area, which should be followed up by economic measures connected with the significant reduction in the numerical strength of the Czechoslovak Army in connection with changes in the international situation, in particular in the followup on the results of the talks in Vienna on the number of troops in Central Europe.

The draft budget no longer contains a contribution to the Czechoslovak Communist Party ammounting to Kcs 1.2 billion.

The resources originally intended for the social organizations of the former National Front, physical training, youth, and other organizations, have been reduced by one-third. The draft is based on the current situation in the development of these organizations. The funds will be distributed in a differentiated way in accordance with the direction of their activities and in cooperation with the ministries of finances, prices and wages, and other authorities of the governments of both republics.

Expenditure on state administration, where the apparatus of ministries and other central authorities was reduced by 30 percent during the past two years, is being reduced by relatively little. It will be possible to achieve more radical savings only in connection with the new organizational arrangements of central authorities which the government is preparing, and in the field of local government bodies after their transition to a two-tier setup.

When the draft state budget discussed, the Federal Assembly requested that the Assembly's budget be increased to Kcs 100 million, which is a 100 percent increase on the previous year, while at the same time a further reserve has been requested for the Federal Assembly to the tune of kcs 100 million. Deputies at the same time recommended the reduction of the budget of the State Commission for Scientific, Technological, and Investment Development by those Kcs 100 million, and also the abolition of this commission. I expect that this proposal to change the budget will be submitted in the joint report.

Another item of savings in the draft budget submitted is noninvestment expenditure on scientific and technological development. The aim of the reduction by Kcs 1 billion in comparison with the original budget is to prevent an uneconomical spending of budgetary resources in this area, and to reinforce the role of the enterprises' own resources. Expenditure on tasks to which economic research has been committed by the state plan has been reduced by 30 percent, and on those to which basic research has been committed by 10 percent. This cut does not affect the envisaged expenditure on medical research.

The restrictive intervention in budgetary expenditure will not have any impact on those expenditures which have a direct influence on the living standard of citizens; that is, spending on social security, health service, and education.

The proposed sums continue to provide for resources already approved in 1989, which constitute more than half of the growth in the budgetary expenditures for these purposes. This involves above all an increase in state support for housing construction by individual citizens, salary adjustments in the educational and health sectors, upgrading of pensions, the improvement of medical care,

the reconstruction of the House of Artists in Prague, the renewal of the historic center of Bratislava, and an increase in the provision of resources for the program of introducing electronics in the educational sector. Thus the overall noninvestment expenditure on services and activities for the population has exceeded the sum of Kcs 200 billion, and their proportion in terms of budgetary expenditure has been increased from 46 to 48 percent. In comparison with 1989—and this must be realized—this expenditure has been increased by a mere 1.6 percent, and budgetary revenues—as I have already mentioned—have increased by 2.9 percent.

Similar disproportions were in the past one of the main reasons for budgetary deficits. It is therefore necessary to stress that this trend is not, in terms of the intentions of our financial and budgetary policy, tolerable in the long term. The rapidly growing state expenditure leads in a number of cases to considerable waste, while the standard of services provided remains low. For this reason it will be necessary to speedily prepare measures that will enable the combination in an appropriate way of the paid and unpaid services and which will also create in this area an incentive to rationally manage financial resources.

Expenditure on social security should reach the sum of Kcs 102.9 billion in 1990, which represents almost one quarter of overall budgetary expenditure. The noninvestment expenditure on education is to reach Kcs 31 billion, and on the health service close to Kcs 36 billion. In both instances expenditure has been increased.

Budgetary expenditure on culture of a noninvestment nature remains almost at the 1989 level. Against the original draft state budget for 1990, this expenditure has been reduced by three percent.

In my presentation, I have dealt so far with the characterization of the state budget for 1990 from the view of the federation as a whole. In view of the organizational arrangement of our budgetary system, which is based on the federative set up of our state, these questions have a totally concrete space aspect. It is precisely this aspect, and in particular the financial relations of the federal budgetary vis-a-vis the state budgets of the two republics, which has, in the continuing process of democratization, come to the forefront of the interest of the authorities of the Czech and Slovak national councils and naturally also of the Federal Assembly. This is completely natural. In the practice of the previous years, as in other issues, this area was not discussed, and this is why our public was justifiably dissatisfied with the extent of information at their disposal.

Deputies, members of our legislative bodies, have criticized the high degree of dependence of the state budgets of the republics on subsidies from the federal budget on the one hand, and the proportions to which these subsidies were distributed between both republics on the other. The new law on budgetary rules, which came into force on 1 January this year, partially reacted to such criticism. Its essence lies in the new division of revenues between the federal budget and the state budgets of both republics. In the budget for 1990, which you have in front of you, this is reflected in the decline in the federal budget's revenue, which will be one-third lower than in the preceding year. This is caused by the fact that the entire yield from the levy payments from wages from the federally controlled organizations, and furthermore a certain share in the statewide yield from the turnover tax, now form the revenue of the state budgets of the republics. The transfer of these revenues to the budgets of the republics means that the proportion of federal budget revenues in terms of the overall revenues of the Czechoslovak Federation has been reduced from last year's 50 percent to 33 percent.

Subsidies from the federal budgets going to the republican budgets have been reduced as a result of these changes in comparison with 1989 by more than 50 percent, or to be exact by 56.4 percent. This therefore involves a relatively extensive budgetary operation.

The increase of the republics' own budgetary revenues linked conversely with the reduction in subsidies from the federal budget signifies a 30-point increase in the financial self-sufficiency of the republics from last year's 47.7 percent to 77.5 percent in the current year. I believe that these are significant budgetary movements.

From the viewpoint of the share of the republics in the overall volume of subsidies from the federal budget, the process of the gradual reduction of the Slovak Republic's share in these subsidies, and conversely an increase in the share of the Czech Republic, will continue in 1990. If in 1980—that is, 10 years ago—42.9 percent of subsidies went to the Slovak Republic while the rest went to the Czech Republic, then in 1990 a reduction in subsidies going to the Slovak Republic to 38.5 percent has been envisaged, with the corresponding appropriate increase in subsidies going to the Czech Republic. In absolute terms there has been a relative reduction amounting roughly to Kcs 1 billion in subsidies going to the Slovak Republic, compared with last year.

Since these questions are the subject of increased interest on the part of deputies of all legislative bodies, I would like to stress once again that the draft state budget of the federation for 1990 has been drawn up in line with existing legal regulations and that it has not set before itself the objective of tackling beyond its framework, in a totally new way, relations in the budgetary system, as has been sometimes demanded. The reason I say this is because this demand has been raised by the Czech National Council.

The only thing one needs to say now is that the government is very rapidly preparing an amendment to the law governing budgetary rules, which would be discussed by legislative bodies that will emerge from the coming elections in June, and on this basis new drafts of state budgets for the next year—that is, for 1991—will be drawn up.

(?A fresh) direction toward the new concept of economic relations and powers within the framework of the federation does not only concern state budgets but the entire areas of the budgetary management by national committees in the followup to their new organizational setup, which is being prepared.

All these questions are exceptionally important economically and sensitive politically. We cannot, however, avoid tackling them regardless of their complexity. The issue is—and I wish to stress this—not to lose sight, amid the economic and political ferment, which can be expected in this connection, of the fact that despite its importance, what is at stake is merely one dimension of the entire far more general reform process. This is why it is important to ensure that in the final decisions about all these questions, rationality and not emotions—which we witness sometimes—will prevail.

Our economy's transition to market principles and the attainment of a significantly better economic performance requires that its unity is maintained, and a uniform monetary, tax, and budgetary policy is essential to this.

Although the state budget submitted differs in a number of aspects from past budgets, I must state that in the current transitional period it has not completely overcome the shadow of the past periods. This is why it is necessary to speed up in the immediate future the course of the whole of our economic reform, as I mentioned at the beginning. It is, however, apparent that a strictly restrictive policy, along with a similarily drawn up monetary policy, must form a permanent and organic part of the whole reform process. Its objective will be to secure an elementary stage of monetary stability and the creation of prerequisites for further reform steps, such as liberalization of prices, exchange rate, foreign trade, and the like. This is why it is essential to maintain a surplus state budget not only this year but also in the years to come, despite all economic and social pressures, because only in this way, along with restrictive monetary policy, can the existing excessive demand on the economy be curbed.

Esteemed deputies, thank you for your active cooperation so far in the discussion on the new draft state budget for 1990. On behalf of the government, I propose that the Federal Assembly approve the draft bill on the state budget of the federation for 1990 submitted. Thank you for your attention.

Assembly Rejects Three Name Change Proposals

LD2903165890 Prague CTK in English 1520 GMT 29 Mar 90

[Text] Prague March 29 (CTK)—Deputies to the House of the People and the House of Nations of the Czechoslovak Federal Assembly did not approve any of the three proposed changes in the present name of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic at their joint meeting here today. The deputies approved neither the proposal "Republic Czecho- Slovak" nor the "Czechoslovak Federative Republic" nor the proposal "Czecho-slovak Federative Republic".

Only four votes of Slovak deputies in the House of Nations were missing for the approval of the name "Czechoslovak Federative Republic".

Adopts New Republic Name

LD2903192490 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1825 GMT 29 Mar 90

[Text] The third day of the 26th joint session of the two Federal Assembly chambers is ending. I can say that the expectations with which we entered parliament this morning have been fulfilled.

The discussion on a change of name for the republic was heated and at times emotional and divided. In the end, however, the deputies agreed on a new name for the republic, which has a different name according to the language used.

In Czech the name is the Czechoslovak Federative Republic [Ceskoslovenska Federativni Republika]. In Slovak, the name is the Czecho-slovak Federative Republic [Cesko-slovenska Federativna Republika] with a hyphen and a small "s".

The texts of the law in both Czech and Slovak languages have equal validity.

Appeals for Talks on Lithuania

LD2903160990 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1335 GMT 29 Mar 90

[Speech by Deputy Jaroslav Sabata, chairman of the Foreign Committee of the Chamber of the People, delivered at Federal Assembly session in Prague—live relay]

[Text] Esteemed colleagues, esteemed guests. I shall read out to you an appeal to the deputies of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR and the Supreme Soviet of the Lithuanian Republic, which we have drawn up on the basis of several proposals that have emerged from the plenum and on the basis of consultation with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

The appeal reads as follows: We, the deputies of the CSSR Federal Assembly, have been following the exacerbation of the situation in Lithuania with great concern. We of course understand the depth of the problems connected with the legacy of the unhappy past and we have no doubts that you are realizing this with even greater immediacy.

This is, however, precisely why we want to appeal to you, the deputies of both legislative bodies, to act with the greatest determination to resolve the situation entirely by peaceful means, and in particular by talks in a constructive atmosphere free of threats and the use of force.

If such talks are to be successful, they should be based on respect for the legitimate endeavor of Lithuania to win full independence, including the restoration of her statehood. We all know that any other approach would seriously impair the European-wide democratic process.

We have confidence in the political maturity of the Lithuanians and their ability to proceed along the road of freedom and democracy. We have confidence in the political prudence and responsibility of all participating sides.

We then assure the deputies of both legislative bodies that we are ready to enter into any kind of cooperation that might contribute to resolving the existing crisis and which would, at the same time, reinforce the prospect of a new, democratic Baltic community.

[signed] Deputies of the Federal Assembly of the CSSR

Esteemed colleagues, we will not vote on this proposal. This is an appeal to deputies signed by Federal Assembly deputies, and you can sign the appeal in the Federal Assembly's hall.

Calls for Resolving Postwar Problems

LD2803115490 Prague CTK in English 2038 GMT 27 Mar 90

[Text] Prague March 27 (CTK)—Members of the foreign relations committees of the two chambers of the Czechoslovak Federal Assembly demand in connection with the unification process in Germany that all questions resulting from the end of World War II be solved either by signing a peace agreement with both German states or future united Germany or in another way in the framework of the Helsinki process, a committees' statement adopted here Tuesday said.

They expect the unification of both German states to be accompanied by united Germany's pledge of acknowledging the existing borders in Europe and the current contractual obligation of the two European states.

The deputies are convinced that positive prerequisites exist for developing good neighborly relations between Czechoslovakia and united Germany in the framework of peace process in integrated Europe, the statement said.

Havel Visits Session 29 Mar

LD2903203490 Prague CTK in English 1950 GMT 29 Mar 90

[Text] Prague March 29 (CTK)—The Czechoslovak Federal Assembly approved at its session here today the name of the republic as follows: The Czechoslovak Federative Republic, in Slovak the Czecho-slovak Federative Republic.

After a protracted discussion lasting the whole day, the Parliament elected a special 20-member committee to put forward a definitive proposal.

The parliamentary session was also visited by President Vaclav Havel, currently hospitalized after a hernia operation, who met with members of the Parliament Presidium and the special committee members. He pointed to international aspects of the long discussion on the changes in the name of the republic and appealed for the quickest possible approval of the new name.

Havel in 'Good' Condition Following Surgery

LD2903132290 Prague CTK in English 1140 GMT 29 Mar 90

[Text] Prague March 29 (CTK)—In answer to many queries about President Vaclav Havel's state of health the president's press secretary stated today that Mr. Havel is convelescing normally. The president is feeling in good physical and psychological condition.

President Havel underwent a herniotomy on March 24 and is very pleased with the treatment he has been receiving. He should be released from hospital into homecare in the next few days.

Slovak Demonstrators Protest Country's Name Change

LD3003110890 Prague CTK in English 0805 GMT 30 Mar 90

[Text] Bratislava March 30 (CTK)—Several thousand people assembled in front of the Slovak National Council (parliament) building here this morning to protest against Thursday's decision of the Federal Assembly on Czechoslovakia's new name.

After a day-long controversional debate, the Federal Assembly decided that the new Slovak name of the republic would be the Czecho-Slovak Federative Republic while the Czech name would the Czechoslovak Federative Republic.

Addressing the demonstrators, Slovak national Council chairman Rudolf Schuster and Deputy Jan Zelenay assured them of the effort of the deputies to settle this problem. The demonstrators, however, made clear their discontent and called for an independent Slovak state.

1 Killed, 30 Injured in Leopoldov Prison Unrest

LD2903205190 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1700 GMT 29 Mar 90

[Text] After many days of unrest, a riot by prisoners in the corrective training institution in Leopoldov was put down yesterday evening by the intevention of armed security forces. Slovak Premier Milan Cic gave some details of the intervention today.

Beginning at 1700 yesterday, security forces members were trying to persuade the convicts to allow themselves to be peacefully transferred to other institutions. In reaction, extensive areas of the prison were set on fire. It was therefore necesary to engage in arm-to-arm combat.

All those who intervened deserve credit for their reasonable and responsible actions, which prevented serious bloodshed.

Nonetheless, the convicts demolished almost the entire prison building in Leopoldov, and initial estimates of the damage run to several tens of millions of korunas.

In putting down the riot, 29 convicts and one member of the corrective training corps were injured. One convict was found dead with serious injuries, probably caused by falling from a burning roof. The doctors' preliminary conclusions are that the death occurred about four hours before the intervention.

When the riot had been put down, all the convicts were taken to different corrective training institutions in Slovakia as well as to the institution in Kurim in Moravia.

Slovak Council's Schuster Leaves CPCZ

LD2803132890 Prague CTK in English 1908 GMT 27 Mar 90

[Text] Bratislava March 27 (CTK)—Chairman of the Slovak National Council Rudolf Schuster announced here Tuesday to the city party committee in Kosice, East Slovakia, his decision to end his membership in the Czechoslovak Communist Party.

"This was not an easy step to take but I am convinced it was right. I took this decision for personal reasons and vain belief in the communist party's ability to restore, though partially, its credit in society," Rudolf Schuster said.

"I want my decision to be understood as a personal determination to further contribute to the working atmosphere of the supreme legislative body, the democratic development and preparation for free parliamentary elections," he underlined.

Slovak Parliament Meets, Appoints Minister

LD2903193490 Bratislava Domestic Service in Slovak 1630 GMT 29 Mar 90

[Text] As we have already told you, the presidium of the Slovak Parliament met in Bratislava prior to its deliberations. Following the proposal of Milan Cic, Slovak Premier, Ladislav Snopko has been appointed minister of culture. The newly appointed minister swore the government pledge to Rudolf Schuster, chairman of the Slovak National Council.

Ladislav Snopko was born in 1949 in Kosice, is of Slovak nationality, and a nonparty member. After finishing his studies at the department of general history and archaeology at the philosophical faculty of Comenius University, he worked at the city administration for the protection of monuments and nature in Bratislava.

Slovak Premier Cic on Economic Issues

LD2903200990 Bratislava Domestic Service in Slovak 1630 GMT 29 Mar 90

[Text] The 24th meeting of the Slovak National Council opened in Bratislava this afternoon. Alica Bielikova reports on the deputies' debate:

[Begin Bielikova recording] The reconstruction of the Slovak National Council ended at today's 24th meeting. By recalling the present deputies—for example, Ivan Gonko, Pavol Hrivnak, Pavol Bolvansky, Darina Kulinova, Julius Varga, Vaclav Vacok, and others—17 deputy places were freed. They were taken by newly elected deputies. Changes have also occurred for the same reason in the committees of the Slovak National Council and its presidium.

An important point in today's deliberations was a report about the state and development of the Slovak Socialist Republic, which was delivered by Premier Milan Cic. Among other things, he said that in the past period there has been much more talk about redistribution of means among our republics. Analyses confirm that transfers of means between the republics are tending to decline and, at present, are valued at approximately 8 billion korunas annually. Price deformations and very complicated financial elements and rules create possibilities for misunderstanding and suspicion. Here in Slovakia, we constitute over 30 percent of the overall volume of the national income. We have the same share in the overall value of capital funds as the Czech Republic, younger building funds, but equally worn-out machines and equipment.

In connection with the development of the chemical industry in Slovakia, Mr. Milan Cic said that some chemical production lines have to be abolished, above all production of viscose silk, sulphuric acid, pesticides, and antiquated production of ammonia at Sala and Strazske. This might possibly arouse protests by some citizens. They might ask what they should do, but in view of the life of future generations, the government cannot give in.

A lot of negative data was heard in the report in connection with our nourishment, culture, and health care. Premier Milan Cic also mentioned the prepared principles of price reform, which will be discussed by the federal government. He said that in the Slovak Government's opinion, price alterations cannot affect socially weaker strata. The meeting will continue at 0830 tomorrow. [end recording]

Czech Premier on Party's Responsibility

LD3003042890 Prague CTK in English 2116 GMT 29 Mar 90

[Text] Prague March 29 (CTK)—"The Communist Party as such has not managed so far to admit its responsibility for the role it played in society in the past decades. It has not so far found enough courage to bear

full responsibility for the past, and from this responsibility draw consequences for the future, instead of blaming a few corrupted functionaries," Czech Premier Petr Pithart said in his televised speech here today.

He said the Communists seem to have adopted the tactics of a "circular defence": former Mafia-like linked structures of institutes, enterprises, national committees, etc. are still functioning. In rural areas, where everything seems to be more visible and apprehensible, this situation arouses counterreaction: The nation's energy is thus being wasted in unfruitful emotions and inter-personal disputes. Even many civic forum organisations (?got) nervous and instead of efforts at political maturity they transfer exaggerated radicalism within themselves.

The present political conflict is a conflict between those who do not want any change of the former regime and those who want it. It is a conflict which penetrates from the political level to a moral one, Petr Pithart said.

If the Communist Party decided to actually take the reponsibility for the past years, if it managed to draw needful consequences, and helped remove mafia practices, it would improve the moral atmosphere before the elections to such an extent that good schoolmasters, skilled head physicians and other specialists—members of the Communist Party, would undoubtedly be able to prove their qualities within their working teams. If they do not manage it, then it is the present leadership of the then ruling party to be blame for it, the Czech premier said.

Papers Voice Concern About Czech-Slovak Relations

AU2803121890

[Editorial Report] Several Czech dailies of 21 March pay attention to the current controversies over a new name for the CSSR and the lack of consensus in the Federal Assembly on this matter.

Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech on 21 March carries a 600-word report by Miroslav Hradil and Marie Koenigova entitled "What Will Be the Republic's Name?" The report deals with the 20 March session of the Federal Assembly's Constitutional and Legal Affairs Committees and their failure to reach agreement on President Havel's compromise proposal that the state's name be changed to Czecho-Slovak Republic. Commenting on the implications of this lack of consensus, the RUDE PRAVO report says: "There is a major snag in the deputies' divergent standpoints. A three-fifths majority is needed to approve the new name, because the law in question is a constitutional law. It is becoming apparent that none of the names proposed thus far will receive the required majority. As stated by Deputies Vaclav Benda and Petr Toman, it could happen that precisely this law will become the cause of a parliamentary crisis. At the same time, one cannot rely on deputies reaching an agreement at sessions of deputies' clubs, as one can hear in the lobbies. First of all, some deputies grumble already that they must defend the interests of their voters and will not allow themselves to be manipulated by the leadership of their parties. And, second, the differences are not so much between parties as between Czech and Slovak deputies. Therefore, it is the Czech and Slovak deputies who should meet at this moment.

"A parliamentary crisis that could arise if the chambers do not reach an agreement, a crisis that might even lead to the dissolution of parliament, would be to no one's advantage. If for no other reason, then because parliament has before it almost 40 laws [to discuss and approve]."

Prague LIDOVA DEMOKRACIE in Czech on 21 March on pages 1 and 3 carries a 200-word CTK report entitled "On the Federal Assembly's Agenda," followed by a 150-word unattributed LIDOVA DEMOKRACIE commentary. Referring to the Czech-Slovak dispute over the use of Czechoslovakia versus Czecho-Slovakia, the commentary states: "At the time when deputies consider the law on changing the country's name, national passions have started to flare. People are not willing to settle for a compromise, which is even true of the otherwise more or less cosmopolitan city of Prague. This is borne out by the signature-gathering campaign against the hyphen [in the name of the republic] under way in the "Museum" underpass in Wenceslas Square in Prague. There are now genuine fears that the hyphen in the name of the republic could one day be transformed into barbed wire on the [Czech-Slovak] border. And this is all happening at a time when Prussians and Saxons are joining hands with Bavarians and looking forward to united Germany becoming once again the largest, most populous, and strongest state in Europe."

Prague MLADA FRONTA in Czech on 21 March on page 2 carries a 600-word commentary by Petr Sabata entitled "Making a Mountain Out of a Molehill." The commentary expresses concern at the "growth of national feelings" in parliament in connection with the debate on the country's new name and suggests that "this is an awkward time" for the expression of such feelings. Like the RUDE PRAVO report, the MLADA FRONTA commentary warns that a failure to reach an agreement might lead to the dissolution of parliament, at a time when it must approve the country's 1990 budget and pass a number of economic and political laws that are "vital for this republic." Sabata appeals to parliament "not to put at risk its own ability to act over the name of the federation" and to the Czech and Slovak public to "facilitate the parliament's task by assuming a realistic attitude to the name of the republic." In the commentator's opinion, it is better to postpone the debate until after the elections than to continue to engage in "pointless, stubborn, and unyielding discussions that lead nowhere."

Formation of 'Democratic Bloc' Begins

LD2903164190 Prague CTK in English 1118 GMT 29 Mar 90

[Text] Prague March 29 (CTK)—The Czechoslovak Democratic Forum has started forming an election grouping called Democratic Bloc, to be composed of organizations discriminated against by the election law.

The Czechoslovak Democratic Forum came into existence after the separation of members of the "Democratic Forum of Communists," including communists and unaffiliated people, who sought to democratize the Communist Party.

In order to form the democratic bloc, the Czechoslovak Democratic Forum offers organizations to put up candidates on its candidates' list. The program is based on ideals of social justice, humanity and the broadest possible concept of democracy, involving all people who have something to say on the democratic future of free and prosperous Czechoslovakia.

The Democratic Bloc will act independently in the elections. The purpose of its participation is to pursue democratic ideals and to contribute towards the final defeat of the totalitarian system.

Social Democrats Reject Cooperation With CPCZ

AU2903203690

[Editorial Report] Prague ZEMEDELSKE NOVINY in Czech on 22 March on page 3, under the headline "We Reject Cooperation With the CPCZ," carries a 750-word interview with Jiri Marek, member of the leadership and head of the Czechoslovak Social Democratic Party (CSSD) press service, by Petr Novacek.

Novacek asks if the Social Democrats are socialists or not. According to Marek, "This concept has been completely discredited by the Communists during the past 40 years. As far as the CSSD is concerned, socialism today is more of a theoretical aim with a considerably free interpretation of its contents. We are in favor of socialism with pronounced social elements."

In Novacek's opinion, the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia (CPCZ) still occupies a very strong position in the Czechoslovak left wing and he wants to know if the Social Democrats are willing to cooperate with the CPCZ in view of the forthcoming elections. Marek replies, "We fundamentally reject cooperation between the CSSD and the CPCZ as two political parties. Of course, cooperation with its mass membership base is a different matter. The majority of its members are honest people who became members of the former ruling party simply so that they could do their work."

Tanks in Nitra Dismantled for Metal

LD2903215490 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1630 GMT 29 Mar 90

[Text] Kovosrot enterprise employees in Nitra dismantle and tanks discarded from our Army and supply the metal to the ironworks in Podbrezova and ZTS (heavy engineering works) in Dubnica, and agricultural, woodprocessing, and other enterprises interested in using the engines. According to preliminary information, the Nitra employees are to dismantle about 800 tanks and even a higher number of armored personnel carriers before the end of this year.

Shortage of Civil Defense Shelters in Slovakia

AU2803125590 Bratislava ROLNICKE NOVINY in Slovak 21 Mar 90 p 3

[Hana Kardosova report: "Do We Still Need Civil Defense Shelters?"]

[Excerpts] He who believes that, in view of the favorable international political situation, we do not need civil defense is mistaken. We still need it, of course, but without ideological ballast and with a maximum orientation of the forces and means of the CSSR civil defense toward the protection of the health, lives, and valuables of our citizens. [passage omitted]

Because of the blind and buck-passing policy of our former statesmen, we lag behind the advanced world in many respects. At a news conference with representatives of the Civil Defense staffs of the Slovak Republic and Bratislava, some facts came to light that had been kept secret for a long time and that show a shortage of suitable shelters for citizens on Slovak territory. Well, there was something to hide!

For example, in Petrzalka, which has more than 130,000 inhabitants, there are about 10 minimum-capacity shelters. Safe antiradiation or antichemical shelters are missing here. This catastrophic situation is to be partially compensated for by the rapid transit system, to be built underground, which would give shelter to approximately 35,000 people. [passage omitted]

At present, Bratislava's shelter capacity can absorb 12 to 13 percent of the population, thus lagging far behind our other cities. Prague, for example, with its subway, covers 50 percent of the requirements. A similar situation obtains throughout Slovakia, which has 25-percent shelter capacity. This is very little and there is a lot to catch up with in this area.

Appeal to Journalists Not To Fan Tensions

AU2803124090 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 21 Mar 90 p 2

[Text] The Slovak Syndicate of Journalists asked CTK to publish a statement, that, inter alia, says: The leadership of the Slovak Syndicate of Journalists observes with concern that some individuals and groups continue to

cast doubt on the provisions adopted at the government level and are fomenting unhealthy interethnic tensions. And, what is more, nationalist passions have penetrated into the sphere of journalism. The leadership of the Slovak Syndicate of Journalist strongly distances itself from those members who abuse the freedom of speech and press, cast doubt on the principles of journalistic ethics, and misuse the periodicals in which they work to foment nationalistic frictions. We appeal to all honest journalists not to yield to passions but to keep a cool head, discretion, and high moral credit.

Fears About Ethnic Problems Expressed

AU2903120290

[Editorial Report] Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak on 24 March on page 5, under the headline "A New Wave of Anxieties," carries a 600-word article by Gejza Vilcek on readers' responses to the letter sent by acting Hungarian President Matyas Szuros to President Vaclav Havel. Szuros' letter expressed his concern about the fate of ethnic Hungarians living in Slovakia and stated that if their conditions do not improve, relations between Czechoslovakia and Hungary may become strained.

According to the article, the letters received by PRAVDA express "fears about the fate of Slovaks living in Hungarian-populated regions, feelings of wounded national pride when confronted with bilingual signs and demands for an official language, the conviction that there is no country in the world where ethnic minorities have the same rights as ethnic minorities in our country, and that in Hungary the Slovak minority has considerably fewer opportunities and rights than the Hungarian minority in Slovakia." Some readers even fear that the Hungarians want to sever the districts in which they live from the republic.

Other letters adopt a more level-headed view and state that although the two peoples are divided by their languages, they are linked by their common homeland and culture. Czechoslovaks cannot do more for ethnic Hungarians than their economic conditions permit. The same applies to Slovaks in Hungary.

Dubcek Queried on 1968 Events, Hopes for Future

90UI0458A Moscow TRUD in Russian 18 Mar 90 p 3

[Report on interview with Aleksandr Dubcek by special correspondents Yu. Vasilkov and N. Shevtsov: "'I Think More About the Future Than the Past'"]

[Text] Prague, March—This name is known to everyone. Aleksandr Dubcek. A man whose fate has been dramatic and in many respects symbolic. In 1968 he was first secretary of the Czechoslovak Communist Party [CPCZ] Central Committee. His name personifies the exciting events of the "Prague Spring," which was interrupted by the commitment to Czechoslovakia of Warsaw Pact troops. A. Dubcek was initially removed from high office and then expelled from the party. He worked for several years as a mechanic in a remote timber procurement establishment.

But all this time people did not forget this name. They remembered it. Outside of Czechoslovakia also. Foreign journalists repeatedly attempted to get in touch with him, hoping to hear an assessment of current events from the fallen leader of the "Prague Spring." But prior to November 1989 meeting with him was extremely difficult.

When the elections that followed the "gentle revolution" made him chairman of the Federal Assembly—essentially number two man in the country—he became even less accessible to journalists. In the Federal Assembly Secretariat, where we had forwarded our questions to A. Dubcek, we were told that there were already more than 90 requests from various overseas editorial offices for an interview. And Dubcek's private time was extremely limited.

Our meeting was postponed from day to day and to be honest we had begun to lose hope, when the telephone rang one evening in TRUD's Prague correspondents' center: "Hello, this is Aleksandr Dubcek. Please excuse the fact that I have been unable to get around to preparing answers to your questions but I believe I will be able to do so this evening. Let us schedule the meeting for tomorrow after 10 o'clock. They will call you."

And, indeed, the following morning we were invited to the Federal Assembly. A. Dubcek received us in his office. He began with an explanation:

"I was writing out answers yesterday until 2:30 in the morning and, as is my wont, made crossings-out and insertions in the margins. But there is only one person capable of rapidly making out my handwriting in the office. And he, as luck would have it, is sick. Please be patient a little while the typists cope with my handwriting."

In fact, our conversation was a free retelling of what we later read in the prepared written answers to the questions that were sent in advance. The text was written by Aleksandr Dubcek in Slovak. We permitted ourselves in the translation just a few abridgments in no way altering the meaning.

[Vasilkov, Shevtsov] Following the 1968 events did you ever expect to return to leadership of the country?

[Dubcek] The entry of the "allied" forces into Czechoslovakia in August 1968 initiated a profound setback in our development. Our post-January policy aimed at democratic transformations in society was essentially blocked, and shortly after all its gains were eliminated.... I personally, as a person who had a particularly close relationship with the Soviet people, saw what had occurred as a tragedy both for Czechoslovakia and for the Soviet Union because neo-Stalinism had been strengthened. Nonetheless, I remained hopeful that

common sense would prevail. I never lost hope of making a personal contribution to surmounting the barrier of the Husak-Jakes policy of "normalization". Unfortunately, the recovery of sight was a long time coming.

[Vasilkov, Shevtsov] In what direction have your views on socialism, your philosophy generally, changed in these two decades?

[Dubcek] In my opinion, what we understand today by the word "socialism" has been experiencing a grave crisis—initially in the USSR, and subsequently in the East and Central European countries. Where are the causes of this to be found? I believe that Stalinism and neo-Stalinism deformed the concept of socialism, passing off for it super centralism, total coercion and, finally, the impoverishment of the masses. Communists and noncommunists, groups of people and whole nations had been wiped out in the name of such "socialism." Socialism had become an ideological concept without profound spiritual content and humanitarian practice. During the "Prague Spring" of 1968 we wanted to overcome these negative phenomena and rehabilitate the concept by converting it into "socialism with a human face."

[Vasilkov, Shevtsov] How do you evaluate the overall outcome of Czechoslovakia's postwar development—with a plus or minus?

[Dubcek] Mathematical sciences are no use in this case. Postwar Czechoslovakia possessed a developed economic system, strong industrial potential, and a robust agriculture. If we add to this the people's democratic tradition and quite high domestic culture, it has to be acknowledged that we had a sound basis for overcoming the consequences of the war and for further progress.

But the events that followed 1948 expunged these hopes. The Stalinist understanding of socialism fortified the negative trends and led to a gradual lagging behind countries that had in developmental terms been our equals or even far behind us. Profound moral destruction occurred in society. In other words, the price paid for the mistakes of monopolized power was too high. In the next few years we will have to make up for what was let slip.

[Vasilkov, Shevtsov] The CPCZ is today going through hard times. Does it have a real chance of revival?

[Dubcek] The chance of revival lies with the party itself. No one else can revive it if it itself does not wish to be revived. But this will be a difficult process. Following the military intervention in 1968, the "normalizing" leadership kicked 468,000 members out of the CPCZ—one-third of the party—the most enterprising, industrious, and educated part. This could not have failed to have been reflected in its activity.

I would like to emphasize that when I speak of the Communist Party, I refer primarily to its leadership, which became the grave digger of its own party. I know many honest communists who could lay the foundations of a revival of the CPCZ.

[Vasilkov, Shevtsov] The new forces that have appeared on Czechoslovakia's political scene are putting forward the most diverse programs. Does their composition mean a cardinal change in Czechoslovakia's political course or is this an extended search for new ways to build a society of social justice?

[Dubcek] When, last November, the invincible power of the Czech and Slovak peoples rose up against the amorality of the governing circles, it was obvious that a whole palette of political movements expressing the pluralism of interests of various social groups and currents could not fail to have emerged in the place of the destroyed monopoly structure of the deformed CPCZ. In the pluralist system that emerged after January 1968 four noncommunist parties and two main civic action groups appeared: the Active Nonparty Club and Club 231, which united people who had been unjustly convicted in accordance with Article 231. This did not at that time mean an antagonistic position in regard to the Communist Party thanks to the fact that it had itself discovered the pluralist path at that time. In the "normalization" period, communists expelled from the party and activists from civic action groups and societies created a number of action committees, the best-known of which was Charter 77. And inasmuch as the authorities in the 1970's and 1980's artificially held back the natural aspirations to freedom and democracy, in doing so they also contributed to the appearance of destructive sentiments.

Approximately 30 political parties, frequently with similar programs, are currently registered in our country. There are five social democratic parties alone! This process is natural. The fate of each party will ultimately be determined by the electorate at free elections.

[Vasilkov, Shevtsov] The most popular slogan in Czechoslovakia was for a long time "With the Soviet Union forever." Despite the elements of pseudo-pathos and formalism, the basis of Soviet-Czechoslovak relations was, for all that, you will agree, sincere friendliness and traditional trust. What is the outlook for these relations under the new conditions?

[Dubcek] It is true that friendly feelings toward the Soviet people have, it may be said, historical roots. The liberation of Czechoslovakia in 1945 from Hitler's fascism, in which the Soviet Union played the decisive part, considerably strengthened these traditions of mutual affection.

However, after the war, the "deposits" of negative aspects of Stalinist policy gradually grew. On the one hand the arrogance of the Stalin-Brezhnev leadership of the USSR, on the other, the passive copying by our leadership of the "Soviet experience," which was at

times utterly senseless under Czechoslovakia's conditions. All this contributed to the implantation of formalism, which spread like an infectious disease. Our working people lost their trust in empty slogans and at times interpreted them in an entirely opposite fashion.

The occupation of Czechoslovakia in 1968 completed this process. Your soldiers who took part in this action recall how spontaneous was the resistance of the unarmed population.... Just 23 years had elapsed since the war, and the image of the Soviet soldier had changed fundamentally in the consciousness of the inhabitants of Czechoslovakia! The image of the Soviet Union in the eyes of our people, particularly the young, who had not experienced 1945, faded considerably....

Now the situation is changing, given the realization of the new policy in our two countries. A joint declaration was signed during CSSR President V. Havel's recent visit to the USSR and his negotiations with M.S. Gorbachev, which laid the foundations of the new relations between our countries and imparted new content to the traditions of our mutual relations and friendship. I am pleased that the Soviet leadership officially expressed regret in connection with what happened in 1968 and pleased that the withdrawal of Soviet forces from Czechoslovakia has begun. The dark spots in our relations will thus gradually disappear.

[Vasilkov, Shevtsov] You once worked and studied in the Soviet Union. What would you say today to your Soviet contemporaries, primarily your classmates and former colleagues, who are now agonizingly reflecting on the results of the past?

[Dubcek] My parents went to the Soviet Union in 1925 because the CPCZ had resolved to help the young Soviet Russia. Money that had been earned in the United States was invested to purchase machinery and equipment for the "Intergelpo" cooperative. There were two brothers. The elder—Julius—was born in Chicago, I in Czechoslovakia. I recall the delight that possessed us in the cooperative! We took up residence in the former army stables of Pishpek (present-day Frunze). I still remember clearly how we kneaded the clay with our feet in a pit for the first small houses. We built a school ourselves, but before this we had all, regardless of age, attended one class. Incidentally, a week ago I received from the USSR a photograph of my classmates, and I found it very moving.

The first electric light bulb was switched on, a textile works and tannery were built and a sawmill and mechanic's workshop and house of culture were put up in the cooperative with our labor.

Since 1932 my father worked at the auto plant in Gorkiy, where I was born. At the end of 1938 we returned to Czechoslovakia. I lived through the time of the collapse of the republic and its liberation from the forces of occupation.... I lost my brother on 22 January 1945. I was wounded twice at the front. And the fascists dispatched my father to the Mauthausen concentration camp....

The enthusiasm at the appearance in Czechoslovakia of the liberating Soviet Army is impossible to describe. I am linked with the Soviet Union also by the pivotal Khrushchev period, during which I studied in the Higher Party School in Moscow. I had experienced various political processes in the Soviet Union in the 1930's—from Tukhachevskiy through Bukharin. I had initially known them as major revolutionary figures, but it was subsequently impressed upon all of us that they were enemies and traitors. In the 1950's I witnessed political processes in Czechoslovakia. All this has enabled me to comprehend much in this life in even greater depth....

I would like to say to all my fellow students and colleagues, and all those I got to know in the Soviet Union: I was never an "anti-Soviet element." I had simply come to know life in all its contradictoriness and had reached the firm conviction that Stalinism and neo-Stalinism and the "Brezhnev doctrine" were the "Bastille" on our path toward social progress, democracy, humanity, humaneness and morality.

I think more about the future than the past. I believe that our current relations will lead to our people and the Soviet people being bound in a truly friendly fashion.

I know that this is not in the traditions of your propaganda but I would be happy to drink with my old Soviet comrades. We would take herring and boiled potatoes and rap on the table with dried vobla [Caspian roach]. I would say to them: we are living in difficult times. The former leaders bequeathed us a difficult inheritance. Let us not, however, cry over spilled milk. Let us think about the upturn of our countries, about a better life for our people—your people have deserved this.... Let us think, looking forward.

Our meeting with Aleksandr Dubcek drew to a close. We took our leave. We exchanged final words at the door. "It will be very pleasant for me to address Soviet readers in your newspaper," the chairman of the Czechoslovak Federal Assembly said.

Leaving the office, we turned around. We were being seen off by a warm smile from a courageous man who, despite all the trials that have befallen him, has remained true to his beliefs and ready resolutely to defend them.

CPCZ HQ Assigned to Transport Ministry

LD2903212890 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1630 GMT 29 Mar 90

[Excerpts] The Prague national committee deputies decided today who is going to use the former headquarters of the Czechoslovak Communist Party [CPCZ] Central Committee in Prague, at Ludvik Svoboda

Avenue. An interview conducted by (Alena Milerova) with Prague Mayor Jaroslav Koran will provide you with more specific information.

[Begin recording] [Milerova] Mayor, an extraordinary plenary session of the Prague national committee asigned, after long and lively deliberations, the building in question to the Federal Ministry of Transport and the Federal Ministry of Communications. [passage omitted]

There was a point in the original proposal that if the variant that you approved today is to be carried out, the CPCZ Central Committee would claim some other buildings besides the one asigned to it. How are you going to solve this issue?

[Koran] The solution we arrived at is that the Communist Party considers the Rude Pravo building at Na Porici Avenue to be its property, and therefore it is now moving to the building that it allegedly owns and that it seems is adequate for all its needs. Therefore, the national comittee does not need to asign any other buildings to the Communist Party. [passage omitted] [end recording]

Agricultural Parties Movement Founded

AU2803162990

[Editorial Report] Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech on 23 March on page 4, under the headline "They Want United Agricultural Cooperatives," carries a 200-word "(NN)"-signed article that reports that the Union of Cooperative Farmers (Svaz Druzstevnich Rolniku) has founded a movement with the aim of unifying all agricultural parties and cooperative farmers. A joint list of candidates for the upcoming elections to the Federal Assembly and National Councils is expected. According to the article, some 60,000 signatures supporting the movement have been collected.

According to union official Vladimir Karger, "It would be nonsense to dissolve the cooperatives." He pointed out that Western farmers also group themselves into cooperatives. "If our cooperatives had the technology, chemical resources, and opportunities for using qualified services that Western farmers have, then Europe would belong to us," he added.

New TV Head on Programming Changes

LD2903193590 Prague CTK in English 1602 GMT 29 Mar 90

[Text] Prague March 29 (CTK)—"Broadcast of the central program of Soviet Television which may now be watched by every third Czechoslovak citizen, will be replaced by the third program of Czechoslovak television already in the second quarter of this year", new Director General of Czechoslovak Television (the fourth within the last six months) Jiri Kanturek told journalists here thursday.

He said the new program broadcast in foreign languages will consist of satellite television programs and language courses.

The TV director general spoke in detail about preparations for a television election campaign to be launched on April 27. He pointed out that every political party will have four hours at their disposal to broadcast their own program. This time periods may be divided at their will. The programs the parties will have to produce without participation of television workers will be broadcast in night hours", Jiri Kanturek said. [no opening quotation marks as received]

He announced that from tomorrow onwards regular broadcast of the Civic Forum, the only political movement having so far its own program, will end. Jiri Kanturek further said that a new Czechoslovak TV broadcast schedule aimed at consistent differentiation between the contemporary and past television production, will come into effect in the summer 1990. The establishment of independent Czech and Slovak televisions with the so far uncertain extention of federal broadcast seems to be necesssary, he said.

New LIDOVE NOVINY Publications Unveiled

AU2903105690 Prague LIDOVA DEMOKRACIE in Czech 22 Mar 90 p 3

["(PSD)"-signed report: "LIDOVE NOVINY's Plans"]

[Excerpts] Representatives from the LIDOVE NOVINY Publishing House met with Prague's journalists at their first news briefing on 21 March. LIDOVE NOVINY chief editor J. Ruml, R. Zeman, director of the LIDOVE NOVINY Publishing House, and their colleagues briefed those present on their future plans. As is already known, starting 2 April, LIDOVE NOVINY (at a price of one koruna) will be published daily and its weekly supplement, LITERARNI NOVINY [Literary Newspaper], will be published on Thursdays. [passage omitted]

Other titles will be published under the LIDOVE NOVINY Publishing House's auspices: STUDENTSKE LISTY [Students' Papers], the quarterlies HISTORICKE LISTY [Historical Papers] and KRITICKY SBORNIK [Critical Review], the monthly DEJINY A SOUCASNOST [History and the Present], the theoretical review O DIVADLE [About the Theater], and, as of the beginning of April, OBRAZOVY MAGAZIN [Illustrated Magazine] and a weekly ROCK A POP. [passage omitted]

Plans for Army Reduction, Disarmament Outlined

AU2903131990 East Berlin DER MORGEN in German 22 Mar 90 p 1

[Dr. Hans-Juergen Nagel report: "Generals Give Green Light for Disarmament"]

[Text] Berlin—If the new People's Chamber and the future government were to quickly give the go-ahead, disarmament and the conversion of economic capacities that have so far been used for military purposes would be initiated in a way that could really be regarded as an example in the German unification process. Depending on the results of international negotiations, considerations and concepts developed in the Ministry for National Defense might be translated into concrete programs and stages by such a far-reaching political decision.

For example, it has to be decided whether the National People's Army [NVA] is to be further reduced and changed into a regular Army or whether it will be completely disarmed by the year 2000.

In their considerations, military experts, such as Colonel General Goldbach and Lieutenant General Seifert, proceed on the second variant which, according to their estimations, will take approximately 10 years. Adequate prerequisites will be created by an Office for Technical Disarmament in the Defense Ministry and by a similar institution responsible for qualifying, retraining, and employing regular soldiers and civilian employees for activities outside the Armed Forces.

By 1995 socially secured opportunities regulated by law for the changeover to civilan professions would have to be created for 7,000 regular soldiers and 3,000 civilian employees every year. The NVA would also hand over barracks and facilities to municipal authorities, private businesses, and enterprises. It is also conceivable that former regular soldiers could start businesses of their own. In more far-reaching considerations, the NVA expresses interest in direct cooperation with employers' associations and craftsmen's organizations.

As demonstrated by the GDR's first experiences with the scrapping of 600 tanks and 50 fighter planes, disarmament, conversion, and retraining are not possible free of charge. However, at present this is more economically implemented in the NVA and by military experts than in the industrial sector. Increasing know-how will change the ratios and the speed. More than 3,000 pieces of equipment, 2,600 tanks, 450 planes, 180 helicopters, and 2,500 artillery pieces that have to be sorted out, scrapped, or destroyed are mentioned, among other things, in variant two. All this is to take place in an orderly, controllable, and very safe way, while strictly heeding ecological requirements.

The new defense minister (Rainer Eppelmann is mentioned as a possible candidate) can proceed on the solid preparatory work of his predecessor, Admiral Theodor Hoffmann.

Anti-Stasi Demonstrations in Several Cities

LD2903173190 Hamburg DPA in German 1537 GMT 29 Mar 90

[Excerpts] East Berlin (DPA)—In East Berlin and other GDR towns, several thousand people went on the streets to demonstrate for an immediate investigation into possible Stasi links among the new People's Chamber deputies. The demonstration was called by New Forum and other citizens, movements, and also the Greens and Social Democratic Party.

Several thousand people marched from Alexanderplatz to the People's Chamber building, where the newly elected parliament is to hold a constituent session soon. [passage omitted] Some demonstrators also clearly expressed disappointment with the election result. [passage omitted] Thousands of GDR citizens also went on the streets in Erfurt, Leipzig, and other cities late this evening. [passage omitted]

Berliners Urge Check on Deputies

LD2903184390 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1743 GMT 29 Mar 90

[Excerpts] Berlin (ADN)—At a demonstration today that went from Alexanderplatz to the seat of the People's Chamber in the Palace of the Republic, some 10,000 Berliners demanded "No Stasi group in the People's Chamber." On banners and in chants they urged "Stasi out!" and "Stasi and BND [FRG intelligence service] a tie." [pun on the name of former Democratic Awakening leader Wolfgang Schnur] [passage omitted]

At a rally outside the Palace of the Republic, spokespersons of the New Forum, the Initiative for Peace and Human rights, the United Left, and other civic action groups called for the full clarification of possible Stasi links of all people who want to assume political responsibility in the GDR in future. [passage omitted]

Leipzigers Call for Checks

LD2903180990 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1624 GMT 29 Mar 90

[Text] Leipzig (ADN)—Only deputies of integrity who have never collaborated with the Ministry of State Security should be admitted to the new People's Chamber. This was demanded this afternoon by some 10,000 Leipzig people at a rally in the city's Karl Marx Square. Therefore, all deputies must be checked before the constituent session of parliament.

Addressing the demonstrators—who gave vent to their feelings with slogans such as "Secret services of the world, disband!" and "If the Stasi rules us, we are again the losers"—representatives of citizens' committees demanded that, while guaranteeing individual rights, each individual deputy should be checked for possible former collaboration with the state security service. Only in this way can one ensure that deputies who cannot be blackmailed sit in the new People's Chamber. The

speakers also opposed exemption from punishment for former Socialist Unity Party of Germany officials.

The rally ended with a march, in the style of the Monday demonstrations, in the circular area from Leipzig city center to the new town hall.

Over 7,000 Protest in Dresden

LD2903192790 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1932 GMT 29 Mar 90

[Text] Dresden (ADN)—More than 7,000 Dresdeners today heeded New Forum's call for a demonstration in favor of the investigation of all People's Chamber deputies, state prosecutors, and deputies, according to the organizers. They agreed at the Old Market Place that without "hygenic measures," the path toward a young democracy cannot be embarked upon. They demanded on their banners "Stasi informants before the courts" and "No general amnesty for the Stasi."

Representatives of elected parties, such as the Social Democratic Party and the German Social Union, announced that their parliamentary groups are in favor of the immediate inspection of available documents. They said confidence in the government can only be earned by making the past public.

To the agreement of those assembled, a demonstration was called for this coming Monday in front of the former seat of the Stasi in Dresden.

Karl-Marx-Stadt Protest

LD2903192190 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1804 GMT 29 Mar 90

[Text] Karl-Marx-Stadt (ADN)—Several thousand Karl-Marx-Stadt inhabitants this evening demanded an investigation into all elected People's Chamber deputies for possible collaboration with the former Stasi. At the rally, called by New Forum, several speakers demanded that the deputies voluntarily submit to investigation. They insisted that no citizens who have worked for the Stasi should be proposed as candidates for the local elections. At the same time, an investigation into a possible Stasi past of all economic and political managers was demanded.

Jena Protests Stasi 'Cover-Up'

LD2903183590 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1748 GMT 29 Mar 90

[Text] Jena (ADN)—Today there was a rally on the market square in Jena directed against increasing cover-up attempts in connection with an investigation of the newly elected People's Chamber deputies with regard to cooperation with the former state security service. The citizens' movement New Forum had organized the rally, and several thousand inhabitants took up the invitation.

New Forum spokespersons called on members of the newly elected People's Chamber to make themselves available for scrutiny in order to eliminate mistrust and suspicion. However, those deputies who were Stasi informers should give back their mandates in order to rule out the possibility of being open to blackmail.

The protest was aimed above all against the State Prosecutor's Office, which has refused to look into the files, citing immunity and data protection.

After the rally the participants demonstrated through the town center. On placards they demanded, among other things: "We don't want a Stasi Chamber" and "Expose the informers in your collectives."

1,000 Protest in Halle

LD2903181290 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1728 GMT 29 Mar 90

[Text] Halle (ADN)—About 1,000 people from Halle demonstrated in the city center this evening. They called for the People's Chamber deputies to be scrutinized for possible collaboration with the former state security service. The protest was initiated by New Forum.

Over 2,000 Protest in Suhl

LD2903180190 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1726 GMT 29 Mar 90

[Text] Sluhl (ADN)—Today in Suhl after a "prayer for our country," over 2,000 citizens in the bezirk [area] town gathered for a demonstration. By their protest, staged by the Suhl New Forum, they wished to emphasize their demand for scrutinizing all the deputies elected to the new People's Chamber for earlier collaboration with the former state security service.

At a rally afterward, speakers advocated a clean, open, and transparent parliament controllable by the people. Continued uncertainty about possible affiliation with the former security authorities is sowing mistrust once again. Moreover, the current situation suggests that there is a desire to certify a future GDR Government as incompetent from the very beginning.

'Thousands' of Erfurters Protest

LD2903191590 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1847 GMT 29 Mar 90

[Text] Erfurt (ADN)—This evening thousands of Erfurters demanded the swift investigation of elected People's Chamber deputies for possible past links with the Stasi. The Citizens' Committee, the Citizens' Watch, and the Independent Committee had called the demonstration.

Several speakers pointed out that the credibility of a new government and thus democracy were in jeopardy. The immediate publication of the evidence, free access to the relevant documents by the independent investigative committee, as well as a law on rehabilitation were demanded.

Mathias Buechner, spokesman for the Erfurt Citizens' Committee, said that the hunger strike which three members of the Citizens' Watch began yesterday in the Erfurt Stasi building has been joined by four more people.

Members of the Citizens' Committee reported that they have found filing cards with incriminating evidence about People's Chamber deputies from Northern Thuringia, which has meanwhile been handed over to the bezirk state prosecutor. The kreis [district] Council of Churches joined the call for an investigation of the deputies in a statement. A citizens' initiative suggested forming Citizens' Commissions of Trust with a view to the local elections.

Stasi Reportedly Still Monitoring FRG Telephones

AU2903131090 Hamburg DIE WELT in German 29 Mar 90 p 1

["Nea." report: "Stasi Bugs As Never Before"]

[Text] Bonn—After the revolution in the GDR, and even after the elections on 18 March, the foreign department of the Ministry of State Security continues to monitor telephone conversations on FRG territory "to an unprecedented extent" and takes notes on them. This was reported by FRG Interior Minister Schaeuble (Christian Democratic Union) in Bonn. For the case that Bonn should at some time and in some way gain power of disposition over these notes, the cabinet decided that the material will be destroyed immediately without being checked. Schaeuble called on the laender to do the same in case of such an event. The FRG Interior Ministry obviously does not have any comparable documents on the monitoring activities of the State Security Service within the GDR.

People's Chamber Proposes To Meet 5 Apr

LD2903162790 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1601 GMT 29 Mar 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The newly elected People's Chamber is to meet for its constituent session on 5 April. This was agreed today in Berlin by representatives of the parties and political groupings elected to the new parliament during a discussion with People's Chamber President Dr. Guenther Maleuda. The date is to be proposed to the State Council.

LDP Advocates Unity of Liberal Parties

AU3003113990 East Berlin DER MORGEN in German 23 Mar 90 p 1

[Unattributed report: "LDP Affirms Desire for Liberal Unity"]

[Text] Berlin—The speedy unification of the three parties united in the League of Free Democrats under the new name of Free Democratic Party [FDP]- the Liberals and thus their running jointly in the municipal elections have been endangered. Wulf Oheme, spokesman of the Liberal Democratic Party [LDP], told DER MORGEN:

"While referring to the will of many of their party members, the chairmen of the German Forum Party [DFP], the LDP, and the FDP stated their joint proposal to the leading DFP, LDP, and FDP bodies to unite into the FDP-the Liberals at the news conference of the League of Free Democrats on Tuesday [20 March]. On Wednesday evening, the DFP and the FDP stated that their party leaderships agree in principle with this proposal, which is based on an LDP initiative, but want to implement the unification only after the municipal elections. This is in contrast to the statements made before in the coordinating committee of the League of Free Democrats that the leading DFP and FDP bodies would agree to speedy unification.

The LDP Executive Committee decided on Thursday [22 March] to invite them, as planned, to joint delegates conference on 27 March in order to come to an agreement on whether the Liberals want to run as one party in the municipal elections. The Executive Committee rejects any attempt at splitting the liberal forces of the center. Only in this way can a speedy and orderly union, also with the FRG FDP, which all three liberal GDR parties want, be achieved. In addition to many other reasons, the future uniform appearance of the Liberal People's Chamber Group also speaks for such a road. The FRG FDP has welcomed the LDP initiative for the unity of the Liberals.

CDU, SPD Agree on Basic Points of Coalition

AU2903120190 Paris AFP in English 1144 GMT 29 Mar 90

[Excerpt] Berlin, March 29 (AFP)—East Germany's conservative Christian Democratic Union and Social Democrat parties agreed Wednesday on "the essential points" of a coalition government, CDU leader Lothar de Maiziere announced.

The agreement leaves remaining issues for negotiation, according to a joint statement issued after three hours of talks here between the two sides.

Mr. de Maiziere, tipped to be East Germany's first non-Communist prime minister, said before the meeting he was "optimistic" about its outcome.

SPD vice president Markus Meckel had stressed the meeting was exploratory.

Depending on the outcome, the parliamentary group of the SPD, which has 88 seats, would make a decision on Friday on whether to begin formal negotiations. [passage omitted]

CDU Coalition Government Talks To Continue

LD2903125790 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1031 GMT 29 Mar 90

[Excerpt] Berlin (ADN)—The CDU [Christian Democratic Union] in the GDR agreed on Thursday [29 March] in Berlin to continue their fact-finding talks on the formation of a coalition government, which began the same day. This was announced in a joint statement following the first round of talks in the building of the CDU party executive. [passage omitted]

New Mass Grave Found Near Sachsenhausen

AU3003114890 Cologne Deutschlandfunk Network in German 0900 GMT 30 Mar 90

[Text] GDR soldiers found another mass grave in the Schmachtenhagen Forest near the former Sachsenhausen concentration and internment camp this morning. It is near the spot where a mass grave was found on Tuesday [27 March]. In the early morning hours alone, the soldiers uncovered more than 10 skulls and skeletons which presumably are from the inmates of an internment camp run by the Soviet Union in the postwar years.

Excavation of Wartime Mass Graves Begins

LD3003110690 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0918 GMT 30 Mar 90

[Excerpts] Oranienburg (ADN)—National People's Army soldiers started extensive excavations in the Schmachtenhagen Forest near Oranienburg today. It is thought that between 200 and 1,00 victims of the Soviet NKVD special camp no. 7 were secretly buried in Sachsenhausen after 1945. [passage omitted]

The state prosecutors for the region have recommended the formation of a government commission.

It was announced last weekend that mass graves with an estimated 2,000 victims of Stalinist internment camps had been found in Fuenfeichen on the edge of Neubrandenburg. Fuenfeichen was one of 11 camps in the former Soviet occupation zone.

Labor Market Experiences Rising Unemployment

LD3003095890 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0406 GMT 30 Mar 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Rising unemployment and a drop in vacancies currently mark the situation in the GDR labor market. The Deputy Minister of Labor and Wages, Wolfgang Jahnel, told ADN that approximately 28,000 citizens applied for state support at labor offices up until mid-March. With between 5,000 and 6,000 new applications within 14 days, the trend is rising. At the same time, the number of vacancies dropped from 159,000 in January to 117,000 on 16 March. The minister said this is not, however, the effect of developments in the market economy, but due to the reduction in the formerly inflated demand for labor made by enterprises, and to uncertainty about future structural development.

There is a change in the overall social composition of applicants. The initially high proportion of higher and vocational training staff has dropped to 20 percent and is continuing to fall. Skilled workers now make up the majority, with approximately 54 percent. Most applications have been made at labor offices in Berlin, Potsdam, Halle, and Rostock.

Number of Joint Ventures in GDR Increases

AU2903134290 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 28 Mar 90 p 3

[ADN report: "386 Joint Ventures Approved by GDR Office"]

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The GDR Office for Joint Venture Consulting and Authorization approved the establishment of a company by the Standard Elektrik Lorenz Corporation (FRG) and the Telecommunications Combine prior to its registration. By 21 March, 386 "real" joint ventures were authorized. They are small- or medium-sized enterprises whose annual turnover does not exceed 20 million marks and which have less than 200 employees.

MDF Officially Wins First Round of Elections

LD2903205990 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 2000 GMT 29 Mar 90

[Text] The counting of the votes cast for the regional lists of the parties is complete. The final result confirmed that the winner of the first round is the Hungarian Democratic Forum [MDF]; in addition, five parties got into the parliament. According to the National Election Committee, the delay in publishing the data was caused by the fact that the minutes got stuck in the computer center.

Government Stresses Fairness of Elections

LD2903220990 Budapest MTI in English 2020 GMT 29 Mar 90

[Text] Budapest, March 29 (MTI)—The preparations for, and the organization of, the elections complied with the letter and spirit of the constitution and the electoral law. It is beyond doubt that the elections were fair, the government established in its Thursday session. The government noted it with satisfaction that this assessment was shared by the international observers and the world public, the government spokesman told the press.

The government welcomed that Pope John Paul II appointed titular archbishop Angelo Acerbi to Papal Nuncio to Budapest. Keeping the current Hungarian conditions in view and trusting in the understanding of the Holy See, the government holds it reasonable for the ambassador of the Republic of Hungary to the Vatican to be appointed by the new government.

The government established that the supervisory board of the Hungarian radio and the Hungarian television, set up in the interest of peaceful transition, had fulfilled its mission. The government decided to dissolve the board simultaneously with the founding session of the new parliament.

The prime minister asked the minister of justice to work out a clemency bill by the time of the foundation of a new parliament based on a multiparty system.

The government decided to set up a foundation for the national and ethnic minorities in Hungary, and a foundation for the Hungarians beyond the border. The first one will be presided by Ferenc Ratkay, deputy minister of culture and education, and the second by poet Sandor Csoori. The government promotes the foundation of an institute for the Danube region, which will study the national and ethnic minorities in Central Europe under the guidance of Csaba Tabajdi.

Horn on Elections Results, Prospects

AU2903124090 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 28 Mar 90 pp 1, 6

[Interview with Foreign Minister Gyula Horn by NEPSZABADSAG foreign policy correspondent Peter Vajda; place and date not given: "There Is A Political Danger of A Strong Right-Wing Turn—Gyula Horn on the Danger of B-Lists, Terrorism"]

[Text] [Vajda] Mr Horn, beginning with the election results: Have the election results caused a surprise, and how do you evaluate the performance of the Hungarian Socialist Party [MSZP]?

[Horn] As a whole, the election results were not surprising; however, within the results, there are a few unexpected developments. I counted on a better performance from the Smallholders Party, and on a greater proportion of votes for the Hungarian Social Democratic Party [MSZDP] and the Election Coalition. As for the MSZP, given the circumstances, I regard the results as positive.

[Vajda] What do you mean by given the circumstances?

[Horn] I mean that every party focused its propaganda on the MSZP, and, with the exception of one or two leading politicians, every party took pains not to mention the MSZP's historical achievements. However, these achievements made it possible for the country to hold free elections on 25 March. I also list among the aforementioned circumstances the fact that the MSZP was also called to account for the forced economic measures taken by the government and for the social consequences of these measures. However, these measures were absolutely necessary for the change in the regime, and, irrespective of the composition of the new government, it will probably advance on a similar road.

[Vajda] These are external circumstances, but has not the situation prevailing in the MSZP leadership also played a role?

[Horn] This factor also had a serious negative effect. I mean primarily the fact that, as I already pointed out in an interview to NEPSZABADSAG in December, the MSZP and its leadership was weak and did not react with adequate firmness to the tough and aggressive stand of some opposition parties. Another factor that contributed to this was that the composition of the MSZP leading body proved unsuitable.

[Vajda] Do you mean the party presidium?

[Horn] Yes, primarily the presidium. This situation emerged as a compromise which led to the existence of very few marked personalities in the leadership. In the given situation, it is particularly important for a party in such a disadvantageous position to have strong leading personalities.

[Vajda] You also mentioned the role of subjective factors in connection with the difficult situation of the HSP. How can the party overcome this? What is the way out?

[Horn] The party should continue its renewal faster than it has to date. In its socialist-social democratic platform, the criteria of a new, modern, left wing should appear more firmly, and bourgeois liberal values and Christian

ethical values should not be excluded either! The MSZP should turn primarily toward the employees, and I interpret this in a broad sense, and I do not mean only the people living on wages and salaries, but also those who engage in ventures or the intellectuals professionals.

[Vajda] Back to the elections, to what extent are you satisfied with your own results?

[Horn] The MSZP achieved the best results in Somogy County. According to the preliminary results, the MSZP received about 18 percent of the votes there, and the MSZP candidates remained in the running in all six election districts. This is unique in the country. I counted on better results in my own district, but the opposition parties and the independent candidates also took a lot of votes. However, I feel that, as an inhabitant of Budapest, the election district accepted me because they believe me that I have taken upon myself to represent the interests of this area more efficiently.

[Vajda] If we look ahead somewhat, what do you regard as the greatest danger in Hungary today?

[Horn] From a political viewpoint, I am worried about the prospect of parties trying to vindicate their own views and concepts in an exclusive way. In other words, I am worried about a strong right-wing turn. This would place a significant part of the population in a disadvantageous situation....

[Vajda] Can one connect this with some politicians' demands referring to the need to "cleanse" the state apparatus, to put people on a B-list?

[Horn] I am particularly alarmed by the efforts to again start selecting the ministry and council officials, the police, the Army, the diplomats, and others according to the people's party affiliation. On the one hand, this is unacceptable on principle; on the other hand, we are talking about mostly trained and experienced professionals whose expulsion from public service would cause great harm to our country.

[Vajda] Do you also fear other dangers?

[Horn] We are also threatened by an economic destabilization. The change in the regime has only begun and the country is struggling with a serious heritage, and many people expect tangible economic and social changes too quickly. I must add that I believe that freedom and democracy are essential conditions for prosperity, but we also need a complex mechanism of interest coordination which should take into account the employees' everyday interests by making sure that, in the meantime, we do not threaten the development of a market economy. The trade unions will play a major role in this mechanism of interest coordination in the coming period.

[Vajda] Let me ask you about a foreign policy issue which has tangible domestic policy effects. Do you see any positive change in the position of the Romanian leadership regarding the Hungarian minority?

[Horn] Some change can be seen, namely that more firm action is now being taken in some places against the perpetrators of nationalist excesses. At the same time, taking the situation as a whole, the situation continues to be very tense and dangerous. I am confident that the current Romanian leadership will not be led by possible elections considerations in taking the necessary measures.

[Vajda] Do you not worry that, in case the current situation—which many people claim carries the threat of a civil war—continues in Transylvania, a new wave of refugees might start?

[Horn] Unfortunately, one can fear that.

[Vajda] Not long before our discussion, a report arrived on the bomb attack in Athens. Obviously, the foreign minister knows more about this than the citizens. Was this attack carried out against us, Hungarians?

[Horn] I regard this phenomenon as extremely alarming. We must do everything in order to make sure that such actions are not repeated and do not escalate. As for the second part of your question, it is possible that this action was directed against Hungary and it is also possible that there are extremist Islamic and Palestinian organizations behind this.

[Vajda] Since we are talking about this, I must ask you not only in your capacity as foreign minister, but also as one who travels by air more frequently than the average citizen: Whom do you agree with in the debate between the Malev [Hungarian Airlines] and the government?

[Horn] All I can say is that yielding to international terrorist threats can only encourage terrorism; it is an illusion to believe that once we yielded to a threat, we would never again have to deal with blackmail....

[Vajda] Finally, NEPSZABADSAG published a letter by two staff members of the SUDDEUTSCHE ZEITUNG in connection with Miklos Nemeth's interview and your television interview. Do you have anything to comment on this?

[Horn] In connection with this and the part referring to me, I would only like to say that when NEPSZABADSAG quoted my words in the Television News Program, the newspaper did not quote my words exactly. What I said was that I had spoken with the premier on the phone, and not that the premier had given a telephone interview.

Antall Comments on Political, Ethnic Conflicts

AU2903132490 Hamburg DIE WELT in German 29 Mar 90 p 9

[Carl Gustaf Stroehm article: "He Who Violates Basic Rights Must Not Receive Help"]

[Text] "There is the same difference between the Hungarian Democratic Forum [MDF] and the Alliance of

Free Democrats [SZDSZ] as between the British conservatives and the Labor Party." With these words, Jozsef Antall, MDF chairman and thus winner of the first ballot of the Hungarian parliamentary elections, defines the position of his party, compared to the group that emerged as the second strongest from the counting of votes.

Antall, who will probably become the first noncommunist premier, makes it quite plain that the MDF definitely does not want to govern with the socialists—that is, the successor organization of the Communist Party - and that the Forum only wants to form a coalition with the Free Democrats in an emergency.

The MDF chairman expressed his annoyance at attempts in West Europe—and by the way, in the FRG—to press the Forum to take the "tested" reform communists into the future government. Antall told DIE WELT: "It is very interesting that not only politicians from Western democracies, but also Western bankers and journalists want to force this on us. I could understand if such wishes were to come from Moscow or totalitarian regimes."

Under no circumstances will the participation of socialists or reform communists in a government headed by the MDF be possible. For in a democracy one has to know that, together with a new party or a new coalition, new politicians also turn up. "When Willy Brandt became chancellor he did not keep Gerhard Schroeder, politician of the Christian Democratic Union, as a minister, although he certainly was a good expert."

Antall is similarly opposed to Western attempts to suggest to him a coalition with the SZDSZ. In his opinion, a grand coalition must only be temporarily established in a democracy in case of a national emergency or a war. Of course, such a critical situation might also arise in Hungary that a concentration government will be the only solution, which he does not wish. At present, however, this is not the case, at best some nonparty members might be appointed as departmental ministers, he stated.

After the second ballot on 8 April, the MDF will not only be the strongest party and have the relative majority in Parliament. Together with the Smallholders Party, which gained approximately 12 percent in the elections, the Christian Democrats who ran separately and received six percent, and the votes of deputies who run as independents, an absolute majority which will suffice to establish a stable government will be achieved. At least, Antall is convinced of this.

Antall basically sees the SZDSZ as a "leftist party masked with anti-communist phraseology." These Free Democrats are not an equally liberal party as Western parties with the same name. What is more: In the opinion of the MDF chairman, the Hungarian Free Democrats "incorporated" the votes that would have actually fallen to the Social Democratic Party. The real liberals in Hungary are the young people from the Alliance of Young Democrats [FIDESZ]. "When the young people are older, FIDESZ might become a classic liberal party." The Hungarian Social Democratic Party failed because of the four-percent hurdle. However, some of the Social Democrats who were communists or worked with them together before are in the Hungarian Socialist Party [MSZP], which gained approximately 10 percent of the votes. Others fled to the Free Democrats.

When Antall mentions the election campaign, it becomes obvious how much the MDF and the SZDSZ hurt each other. The Free Democrats conducted an "active election campaign which, however, was negative at the same time": "They advocated strong radicalism, combined with anti-communist phraseology. On the one hand, they abused us as nationalists and anti-Semites. On the other hand, they asserted that we were collaborators of the Communists." The Free Democrats collected all those in Hungary "who are left of the center." If the Social Democrats were to become stronger one day, the SZDSZ would become smaller.

The MDF chairman is greatly concerned about the situation of the Hungarian minorities beyond the borders, above all in Romania. According to Antall, the Hungarians living in Romanian are struggling "for survival." For many Romanians, Hungary has always been the "hostile image." Several Romanian rulers always tried to keep their own people together by painting this Hungarian hostile image. Today there are still forces in Roamnia who act, for example, according to the motto: "Life in Romania is bad. But the Hungarian enemies are to blame for the fact that it is so bad."

Antall expressed skepticism about a future solution of the Transylvanian conflict: In contrast to some optimists, he never believed that the problem would be automatically solved after Ceausescu's overthrow and the uprising in Bucharest. "We signed the Helsinki Final Act and abide by it," Antall says. "We demand that human rights and the rights of ethnic groups be implemented for our compatriots in Romania, in Transylvania. We want the Hungarians in Romania to have autonomy. Europe must not forget that the two and half million Hungarians in Romania are the largest ethnic minority in the world." These people should have the right to freely live as Hungarians, that is, "from kindergarten to the university and in their jobs."

"After the breakdown of the Communist dictatorships, many types of extremism are beginning to show in the east Central Europe," Antall says. There were also actions against the Hungarians living in Slovakia. Difficulties can also be expected in the Soviet Carpatho-Ukraine where many Hungarians are living, or in the Yugoslav Voivodina where the Serbian nationalists are active, he states.

Finally Antall says: "We do not want tensions. However, we expect the Western democracies to refuse to help countries that do not respect the human rights and the rights of ethnic groups." The Romanian Government,

for example, failed because it did not protect its Hungarian citizens from attacks. Not without bitterness, Antall states: "There are pragmatic elements in politics. However, there are also moral necessities. The West supported Ceausescu for a long time, although all Western polticians knew what happened in Romania." However, "immoral things must never be accepted because of political pragmatism."

Democratic Forum Holds Talks on Alliance

LD2903163490 Budapest MTI in English 1336 GMT 29 Mar 90

[Text] Budapest, March 29 (MTI)—The Hungarian Democratic Forum [HDF—MDF] told the press on Thursday they had begun talks with a few other parties, primarily the Christian Democratic People's Party and the Independent Smallholders' Party, both of which expressed readiness to form a national electoral alliance with the Hungarian Democratic Forum.

Concerning the talks, Tibor Fuzessy, vice-president of the Christian Democratic People's Party, told MTI's correspondent that the leaders of the two parties repeatedly pointed out the similarities between their programs and major political ideas.

The Christian Democratic People's Party and the Hungarian Democratic Forum are trying to collate their interests on the basis of mutual advantages and secure each other the opportunity for winning mandates.

On the other hand, an electoral coalition between the two parties is out of the question. As both parties are structured democratically, the local organizations can freely decide whom they want to support.

The HDF news conference was also told that the party leadership would not influence the local organizations in deciding whom they will support in the runoff. It has already been arranged that HDF's candidate in Budapest's 12th district will be backed by the Independent Smallholders' Party in the second round of elections.

Talks held in Bekes County so far suggest that the Hungarian Democratic Forum will have the support of the Hungarian People's Party and the Green Party, and the Alliance of Free Democrats will cooperate with the Federation of Young Democrats and the Independent Smallholders Party, although HDF's representative also announced they were having talks with the Smallholders.

Horn Claims Respect for Romania's Boundaries

AU3003091190 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 26 Mar 90 p 1

[Report on interview with Foreign Minister Gyula Horn by correspondent identified as "br" in Lisbon on 24 March: "Separatism Is Fuel to the Fire—Can Hungarian Foreign Policy Change?"]

[Text] How do you evaluate the mixed reaction to the events in Tirgu Mures? Our correspondent asked Gyula Horn during his short visit to Lisbon for a session of the Council of Europe on 24 March.

[Horn] The mixed reactions were only characteristic of the first day. Today, however, the positions of the world media, politicians, and organizations basically show that they condemn the Romanian leadership and urge authoritative measures against nationalist-fascist organizations in Romania. The sympathy of world public opinion has turned toward the Hungarians.

[MAGYAR HIRLAP] An organization which I do not want to name here has been distributing leaflets in Budapest demanding an independent Transylvania. What is the position of the Hungarian Foreign Ministry on this?

[Horn] I am convinced that such demands are only adding fuel to the fire. We do not need voices calling for separatism. On the contrary, we need to ensure the Romanian people that we respect their country's territorial integrity and sovereignty, and, at the same time and on the same basis, we demand that the individual and collective rights of Hungarians in Romania be maximally guaranteed.

[MAGYAR HIRLAP] Having an election weekend, can we imagine a government in Hungary which would conduct a basically different policy concerning this issue?

[Horn] I do not think so, and my opinion is that, as the appeal of the 11 parties also shows, the political parties in Hungary are displaying balance, sobriety, and a sort of determination in this matter.

Horn Briefs Party Leaders on Romania Events

LD2903205590 Budapest Television Service in Hungarian 1730 GMT 29 Mar 90

[Text] [Announcer] Representatives of the six parties that have gained legitimacy in the parliament after the first round of the elections met today in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs with the head of the ministry, Gyula Horn. The subject centered around the situation which has developed in Transylvania.

[Correspondent] The continuation of the consultation is in itself a significant fact because it proves that in this affair everybody is able to raise himself above political party interests and battles.

First they have received a brief picture of the situation from the minister. According to this, the tension has eased in Transylvania to some extent but the atrocities against the ethnic Magyars in Romania and the Hungarians—i.e., Hungarian citizens—who travel there continue. Gyula Horn confirmed what Andras Suto also said the other day—that for all this, the mass communication [organs of Romania] is also responsible because it

manipulates in a hostile tone, conveys one-sided information and, what's more, it puts a mark of equality between the Vatra Romaneasca and the RMDSZ [Democratic Alliance of Magyars in Romania].

Since a joint statement of the meeting has not been issued, the parties have uniformly expressed their hopes to find those partners in Romania's politics who recognize that the anti-Hungarian disturbances are no longer merely of an ethnic color but that they threaten Romanian democracy too.

Fodor Writes Parliamentarians on Romanian Issue

LD2903173590 Budapest MTI in English 1304 GMT 29 Mar 90

[Text] Budapest, March 29 (MTI)—In connection with the atrocities against Romania's Hungarian minority, Istvan Fodor, acting speaker of the Hungarian parliament, has sent letters to Anders Bjorck, president of the parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe, Enrique Baron Crespo, president of the European parliament, Alain Pompidou, head of the European Parliament's Group on East Europe, Otto Von Hapsburg, leader of the European Parliament's Group on Hungary, Patrick Duffy, president of the North Atlantic Assembly.

Istvan Fodor stresses that the unity and security of the newly emerging Europe is seriously jeopardized by the atrocities directed against the Hungarian minority in Romania and leaving several people dead and hundreds injured. Europe cannot feel secure without peace and cooperation in this region. Neither the Romanian Government nor the newly-formed parties were able or willing to prevent the grave human rights violations. What is more, the Romanian mass media added more fuel to the tension.

The acting speaker of parliament requested the leaders and influential representatives of the international parliamentary organizations to take steps towards preventing any further similar events in Romania.

MDF Leader Criticizes Local Foreign Press

LD2903163990 Budapest MTI in English 1435 GMT 29 Mar 90

[Text] Budapest, March 29 (MTI)—The Hungarian Democratic Forum [HDF—MDF] told the press on Thursday they had begun talks with a few other parties, primarily the Christian Democratic People's Party and the Independent Smallholders' Party. Both said they were ready to enter into a national electoral alliance with the Hungarian Democratic Forum.

Journalists were also told that the HDF would not talk with the Patriotic Electoral Coalition on a nationwide level, but the party presidum has no objections to local agreements.

Party President Jozsef Antall said he was not for a broad coalition. It would not be fortunate for a government to comprise forces which have differences on many issues, such as the Hungarian Democratic Forum and the Alliance of Free Democrats (AFD).

The party president repeatedly criticized the press for more than once discriminating against the HDF, and occasionally sharpening the differences between the HDF and the AFD.

The foreign press is not devoid of partiality either, Antall said. For example, a recent UPI report said the HDF was spreading hostile leaflets about a noted personality of the rival party. Antall said he knew about the leaflets, but firmly denied that his party was behind this vulgar provocation. He referred to forces aiming to discredit all democratic opposition organizations.

Premier Nemeth Discusses Future Plans

AU2903142390 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 23 Mar 90 pp 1,4

[Report on interview with Premier Miklos Nemeth by Zsuzs Szep; place and date not given: "I Will Leave With A Head Held High"]

[Text] The countdown has begun, and the following question is topical on the eve of elections: "What will the current ministers do after the expected government change?" In our series, we publish today an interview with Miklos Nemeth.

[Szep] To what extent can we regard as genuine your change from a Communist party department head to socialist premier?

[Nemeth] I did not have to change. The Hungarian Socialist Workers Party [MSZMP] was a collecting party [gyujtopart] with the participation of people believing in Communist ideas. There were people who connected their careers with their party membership in order to advance in accordance with the "standing orders" of those days. There were quite a few people who tried to do something for the country or for their own professional areas in a pragmatic way and by expanding the existing framework from within. I have always been one of these people.

[Szep] So that is why you joined the MSZMP. However, how did you become a department head and later a Central Committee member?

[Nemeth] My generation was educated at the Economic Science University in the spirit of the new reform, at a time when university autonomy began to emerge; the students could be members of the university council, and they had the right to judge teachers and to vote. I took an active part in this activity, and I was very optimistic about the mood prevailing at the beginning of 1968, something that took a totally different direction in August 1968.... At that time, we discussed a lot with my friends about whether to leave or remain in the party. I

left one of my best jobs, the university, in 1977. My second son was born, and I could no longer maintain a family of four with my salary as university lecturer. I agreed to go to the Institute of Planned Economy. From there, I was sent to the Economic Department of the Planning Office, where the chairman of the Planning Office said that they thought I would contribute the most to the party apparatus. My tasks did not change because, according to the system prevailing at the time, the party decided first, and not the party apparatus.

[Szep] Did you not try to break away from this?

[Nemeth] I repeatedly thought about this, but I could hope as much as the entire country. I accepted the framework and tried to work within this framework. I started my career as head of a subdepartment, and later, when I already was head of a department for 6 months, my superiors called me and told me that I was made a member of the Central Committee.

[Szep] How did you become prime minister?

[Nemeth] When Karoly Grosz no longer wanted to maintain his double function, several names were considered: Imre Pozsgay, Pal Ivanyi, and myself. According to the rules prevailing at the time, the leaders consulted with the public and mass organizations and with the county and Budapest party committees, where Rezso Nyers' name was also mentioned. Finally, the competition—if I may say so—was decided between the two of us. Karoly Grosz asked us for an interview one after the other. I told him that I did not aspire for the position of premier. Rezso Nyers said something similar. Finally, Karoly Grosz proposed me in the position of premier, and Rezso Nyers in the position of minister of state. The Central Committee and Parliament adopted this.

[Szep] Karoly Grosz said later that he "nourished a snake in his bosom"....

[Nemeth] I have nothing to add to this. This is his opinion, and I tolerate it, the way I do with all his opinions. We had arguments on liberalizing the economy and changing the political system. When he became premier, we consulted his parliamentary speech. I claimed we should make our real debts public. I did not succeed in convincing him. The current government also found it difficult to decide on this and feel out the international reactions. Fortunately, my international program allowed me to meet with the EEC chairman and foreign minister. In private, they told me that we should take this step and this would not diminish the prestige of our government and country. They suggested informing the premier or president of one or two influential countries in advance. This is how the secret visit to Chancellor Kohl's private house took place, a visit disclosed later, and Kohl promised to inform the interested parties on the telephone the following day. When the IMF experts examined the double accounting system in detail, a system which showed one thing for domestic consumption and another thing for foreign eyes, they were very surprised and "proposed" those who created it for the Nobel Prize.

[Szep] To what extent have the demands of the opposition parties affected the government decisions lately?

[Nemeth] We do not spend time on arguing who has the honor. The opposition should verify things, shout, and attack if necessary, but responsibility should stay with the government in the future, too. The opposition parties played a determining role in driving the processes in the right direction in some areas. Recognition of the arguments of the environmental protection movements in making a decision on the Bos-Nagymaros river barrage issue is beyond doubt. I am confident that responsibility toward this and the future generations living on both sides of the Danube will affect the future decisions.

[Szep] How much time do you give the new government?

[Nemeth] I hope there will not be government crises and government changes in the coming period. I think it is important for the coalition government to have a strong basis and to be able to adopt constitutional laws and laws to modify the Constitution. If there is no agreement between the coalition members on major issues of government programs, the coalition could break at any moment. The Hungarian economy is not as strong as the Italian one which was able to withstand several dozen government crises.

[Szep] Why is the premier on the fifth place on the national election list of the Hungarian Socialist Party [HSP—MSZP]?

[Nemeth] I proposed this myself: List the party leaders among the first, and list the other party members who are not closely related with the party work further down on the elections list. Given my age, I felt that the fourth place is due Matyas Szuros. I have never applied for positions or a career, and I will refrain from doing this on this occasion too.

[Szep] What are your future plans?

[Nemeth] Although nobody is a prophet in his own homeland, I nevertheless decided to run in the elections as an independent candidate in my own birthplace, with the support of several parties like the Hungarian People's Party and the HSP. I regard this as a great challenge and I would like to help solve the problems of Zemplen county people.

[Szep] What will you do if you fail to make it into Parliament either as an individual candidate or through your party?

[Nemeth] I have a profession, and I will make use of it, or I might return to teaching. At the same time, I have never recoiled from any task through which I can serve the public. I think I will leave the position of premier after an honest effort and with my head held high, and not as a fallen man.

MTI Reports Parties' Economic Programs

LD2803162890 Budapest MTI in English 1410 GMT 28 Mar 90

["Economic Programmes of Parties with Seats in new Parliament"—MTI headline]

[Text] Budapest, March 27, 1990 (MTI-ECONEWS)—

1. Hungarian Democratic Forum

The Hungarian Democratic Forum (MDF), an organisation founded in September 1988 by a group of opposition politicians and writers, has finished top in the first round of the Hungarian parliamentary elections on March 25, securing 24.71 per cent of the votes cast for the parties' electoral lists. Its individual candidates were also well placed, leading after the first count in many constituencies.

The MDF wants to see what it calls a social market economy in Hungary. They oppose unlimited economic liberalism and want to see a strong lower and upper middle class and an extension of ownership to as many people as possible, including the holding by employes of shares in their companies.

The party believes it is vital to raise technical and management standards in Hungary by encouraging foreign investment, while at the same time giving Hungarian entrepreneurs the same benefits as foreign investors.

Inflation should be curbed through cuts in budget spending and the complete elimination of state subsidies to loss-making companies.

The resultant unemployment should be alleviated by boosting small medium-sized companies, launching projects to improve the country's infrastructure, reducing the working week, paying mothers who stay at home to tend their children, finding foreign employment opportunities for the surplus labour and creating new job opportunities in the countryside.

The MDF also plans a complete revision of the current taxation system.

The party intends to develop a new agrarian policy, relying mainly on private farms operated by families and real cooperative communities organized on genuine cooperative principles.

Finally, the party's social policy includes a plan to introduce a new housing policy which will give the tenants of council flats incentives to buy their home, and the putting of pension funds on a business footing.

2. The Alliance of Free Democrats (SZDSZ)

Initially a political forum for mainly Budapest-based intellectuals, the Alliance of Free Democrats, a Liberal Democratic Party with close affinity to the West German Free Democrats from whom it is said to receive financial support, has proved at the elections that it has nationwide support by securing 21.38 per cent of the votes.

The party's principal ambition is to create a modern market economy based on private ownership. While they are convinced that in a modern market economy the state can play an important role, with collective ownership and funds such as pension and medical insurance schemes also playing a part, the Free Democrats consider private capital to be the engine of the economy.

The party insists that ownership and managerial functions should be clearly separated and envisage putting some of the state companies' assets into the hands of insurance companies, local councils, foundations and non-profit organisations.

At the same time the SZDSZ plans to move for an anti-monopoly law, and also to bring the national bank of Hungary under the control of parliarment, rather than the government as is presently the case, to ensure stricter controls on spending.

Agriculture, meanwhile, would be organised into a system of autonomous groups and individual undertakings.

A long-term fundamental aim is for Hungary to join the EC, while at the same time maintaining its links with COMECON countries along similar lines as those with Austria and Finland.

3. Independent Smallholders' Party

The election results suggest that the Independent Smallholders' Party, which is regarded as a mainly rural party, is the most successful of the so-called 'historic' parties—those who competed in the last free elections in 1945.

However, since the party leaders had expected no less than a landslide victory, the 11.76 per cent share of the votes the party finally achieved to put it in third place in the first round was a great disappointment.

The Smallholders' Party is in favor of a market economy. Following along the lines of Austria's fiscal policy of the 1960s and 70s, they intend to back investments aimed at creating new jobs, introducing new technology, protecting the environment and generally invigorating the economy.

They want to reduce to a minimum state control of the economy, while maintaining its influence for the abolition of state subsidies to loss-making companies.

The party considers a convertible national currency as vital for businesses to be able to trade abroad.

Perhaps its most controversial policy is in agriculture, where it has undertaken to return all land put into cooperative farms to those original owners or legal heirs who wish to claim it back according to the 1947 records of ownership, when Hungary's last multi-party elections

were held. Currently some 1,400 Hungarian cooperative farms account for over 60 per cent of all farmland.

The setting up of agricultural businesses would be financed by a new network of agrarian banks to be established by the party.

Finally the Smallholders' Party plans to end the monopoly of the food-processing industry.

4. The Hungarian Socialist Party

The Hungarian Socialist Party, which emerged last year from the ashes of the former HSWP [Hungarian Socialist Workers Party], secured 10.89 per cent of the votes in the first round and is unlikely to act as a balancing force since all the leading parties strongly object to their involvement in a coalition.

The party's ultimate aim is democratic socialism, and they consider the reform of ownership to be a fundamental condition of renewal. They want to see state property operate on a business footing and private ownership become the engine of growth.

The party wishes to create varied forms of ownership with all sectors of the economy operating on an equal footing alongside a strong trade union movement.

The HSP [MSZP] supports the withdrawal of unjustified state support and supports competition over any potentially harmful concentrations of economic power.

The Socialists are, remarkably, the only party that specifically stresses market ethics, such as the readiness for cooperation, a good reputation, credibility and reliability.

The HSP believes that a convertible forint is vital to creating an efficient economy and maintains that no real domestic market can exist without foreign market influence.

The party wants the new government to pursue a policy that will encourge enterprise, and to take economic and legal measures to help small and medium-size companies take a bigger share of the market. It wishes to give more incentives to small-scale farmers and to boost the exports of processed foodstuffs.

The HSP's principal economic policy objectives are to curb inflation and unemployment, and maintain the country's creditworthiness.

5. The Federation of Young Democrats [FIDESZ]

In the course of the election campaign, FIDESZ, the Federation of Young Democrats, managed to double its membership to several thousand thanks to its bold and energetic campaign and in the first round voting almost succeeded in its declared ambition of overtaking the Hungarian Socialist Party by gaining an impressive 8.94 per cent of the votes. The party is considered a natural ally of the Alliance of Free Democrats.

In its economic policy, FIDESZ attaches most importance to avoiding soaring inflation similar to that experienced in Poland and Yugoslavia and therefore proposes strict central bank control of money supply, cutting back the budget deficit, the winding up of 'lame duck' enterprises, an end to what it calls the bureaucratic protection of monopolies, more choice and the stimulation of enterpreneurship and privatisation.

The country must at all costs remain solvent if it is to come out of its crisis. To this end agreements must be reached with international financial institutions to finance the short-term costs of crisis management.

Creditors would be invited to convert some of the country's debts into shares in Hungarian companies, while some of Hungary's outstanding claims which are considered unrecoverable, meanwhile, would be sold on the secondary international debt market.

Ownership reform under FIDESZ would take the form of an inner restructuring of traditional state property, through, for example, the creation of a state investment trust fund for financing social security. Privatisation should be gradual, the party maintains.

6. Christian Democratic People's Party (KNDP)

The Christian Democratic Party managed to secure its place in parliament by winning 6.46 per cent of the votes in the first round of the elections—comfortably above the minimum 4 per cent.

The KNDP's programme rejects an economic system founded on either total state ownership or unfettered capitalism, and as such aims to provide equal economic opportunities for both individuals and associations under a system based on the freedom of decision of companies operating under various forms of ownership.

The KNDP also supports the idea of interdependence between Hungarian and foreign companies.

It considers curbing of inflation as a primary task and to this end will push for an immediate and substantial cutback in state spending, the winding up of loss-making companies, the cutting back of inefficient and wasteful state bureucracy and the suspension of th majority of large-scale state investments. Other demands include curbing subsidies to social organisations and the armed forces.

Some of the resultant savings would provide various allowances to promote private enterprise and allow higher unemployment benefit and the introduction of retraining schemes for those temporarily out of work.

In agriculture, the KNDP is in favour of returning the land to village communities, wih the size of private farmlands limited to 60 hectares. Domestic agriculture prices would be fixed as close as possible to world market prices.

Soviet Troop Withdrawal Proceeds on Schedule

LD2903160390 Budapest MTI in English 1447 GMT 29 Mar 90

[Text] Budapest, March 29 (MTI)—The 10th train with outgoing Soviet soldiers crossed the border to the Soviet Union at Zahony on Thursday.

The local railway directorate said to MTI's correspondent that the Soviets were observing the fixed timetable.

Reloading because of different track widths is expediently carried out by Soviet soldiers.

Malev Resumes Transport of Jewish Emigrants

LD2903174290 Budapest MTI in English 1300 GMT 29 Mar 90

[Text] Budapest, March 29, 1990 (MTI-ECONEWS)—Malev is again flying Jewish emigrants from the Soviet Union on regular flights to Tel Aviv, MTI-ECONEWS learned from Malev sources this morning.

Yesterday, Minister of Transport Andras Derzsi relieved from his post Malev's general manager Lajos Jahoda. It was he who 10 days ago, under pressure of threats from the Islamic Jihad ordered that Malev stop flying Jewish emigrants from Moscow to Tel Aviv, on its special, charter and regular flights alike. With this decision Malev quit an agreement with the Soviet carrier Aeroflot and the Israeli El Al on the transportation of Soviet emigrant Jews to Israel.

The Malev decision put the Hungarian Government under considerable pressure.

Sources say talks were started behind the scenes with the involvement of Soviet, U.S., and Israeli parties which returned the compromise that that Malev will carry emigrants on its three times weekly regular Moscow-Budapest-Tel Aviv flights, but will not lay on special or charter flights, MTI-ECONEWS was informed by the above-mentioned sources.

The 10 day suspension caused Malev more of the loss of face than of income, the informer said. A ticket on the regular Moscow- Budapest-Tel Aviv route cost $450.

The Malev office in Moscow has sold some 1,300-1,400 tickets in advance until June, and during the past 10 days other carriers flew some 500 Jewish emigrants instead of Malev.

Malev will continue to carry Jewish emigrants from the Soviet Union on its regular flights to Israel, but will not operate the charter flights it laid on earlier on the Moscow-Budapest-Tel Aviv route, this is how Minister of Transport Andras Derzsi confirmed an earlier MTI-ECONEWS report, after the meeting of the Council of Ministers today.

Mr Derzsi said following discussions with Malev's senior captain and union leaders, the agreement was reached that the airline will carry on its regular Tel Aviv flights all passengers who bear valid passports and tickets, irrespective of their nationality and religion.

Under the summer timetable Malev has three regular flights a week to Tel Aviv.

The minister said an earlier Malev agreement with the Jewish Agency about carrying Soviet Jewish emigrants to Israel in charter flights "was not sufficiently circumspect."

The cancellation of charter flights is the result of talks with Malev personnel.

Mr Derzsi stressed that Malev took the decision of suspending the transport of Soviet Jews without having informed or consulted the ministry first.

He said "civil aviation companies may not discriminate against passengers," and added that the organizations responsible for the security of the passengers will take all the required measures.

The incident has caused Malev more of the loss of face than of income, Mr Derzsi told MTI-ECONEWS today.

FIDESZ Demonstrates for Lithuanian Independence

LD2903211290 Budapest MTI in English 1945 GMT 29 Mar 90

[Text] Budapest, March 29 (MTI)—A crowd of 1,000 staged a peaceful demonstration for the recognition of Lithuanian independence in front of the Soviet Embassy in Budapest on Thursday. The demonstration was organized by the Federation of Young Democrats (FYD) [FIDESZ].

The FYD demanded that the Soviet leadership should refrain from any kind of intervention and immediately start talks with the Lithuanian leaders on the independence of that country.

The FYD leaders stressed that the struggle of Lithuania was the struggle of Europe as a whole. Lithuania's 'going up in flames' would jeopardize peace not only in the Soviet Union, but also in Europe and the whole world. For this reason, the FYD made an appeal to the governments of the world not to hesitate about recognizing the independent Lithuanian state. At the same time, the FYD called upon the new Hungarian parliament to be convened to recognize the independent Lithuanian state with no delay.

Sejm Calls on Soviets To Admit Katyn Guilt

AU2903144390 Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA in Polish 23 Mar 90 p 1

[Statement issued by the Sejm of the Republic of Poland in Warsaw on 22 March: "The Sejm on Katyn"]

[Text] The beginning of this April marks the 50th anniversary of the Katyn murders. On orders from Stalin and the USSR authorities of the day, Polish officers who had been in Soviet captivity as a result of the attack on Poland on 17 September 1939 were murdered by police units of the People's Commissariat for Internal Affairs [NKVD]. So far, all that is known is the site of the massacre—the Katyn forest, where over 4,000 Polish officers from the Kozhelsk camp are buried. It is still not known where the remaining victims lie.

Stalin used the Katyn issue in order to break off diplomatic relations with the Polish Government. After that, Poland was subjected to brutal pressure. Alien patterns and administrations were imposed on it.

Today, at a historic time for Central and East Europe, which is regaining its freedom, we must remember those who gave their lives for freedom. The Polish officers who were murdered in Katyn symbolize the fate of many thousands of Poles.

Poland, which is regaining its sovereignty, should maintain good relations with all its neighbors. However, these relations must be based on a respect for the truth and on an explanation of all hitherto unexplained issues, among which the murders of Polish offices (prisoners of war) is one of the most painful. This should immediately become the subject of appropriate Soviet Government decisions and declarations. In particular, the motives behind the atrocity must be explained, hitherto unknown details and circumstances revealed, and the names of those responsible for issuing and carrying out the order published. We expect the graves of the Polish officers from the Ostashkov and Starobelsk camps to be revealed, the families of the victims to receive compensation, and a monument to the victims to be erected in Katyn for the sake of a reconciliation between the peoples.

The parliament of the Republic of Poland pays homage to the memory of the Polish officers who fell victim to the Katyn murder, and assumes patronage over the ceremonies to commemorate the anniversary of Katyn, which ceremonies should be accorded the highest status.

Public Opinion Poll on Soviet Withdrawal

LD2903175790 Warsaw PAP in English 1445 GMT 29 Mar 90

[Text] Warsaw, March 29—Yes, the Soviet troops should be withdrawn from Poland, but the date of their pullout should depend on the developments in Germany, said 47 percent of those asked in a poll carried out by the OBOP TV center for public opinion research on this March 4 and 5. According to 23 percent of those asked, the Soviet troops should go home as soon as possible regardless of the situation in Germany. Another 23 per cent said that the troops should stay in Poland.

The views of the troops' pullout are closely connected with the assessment of the possible united Germany's threat to the Polish borders. Among those not being afraid of Germany 35 per cent were for withdrawing the Soviet troops as soon as possible.

Walesa Meets New Zealand Trade Delegation

LD3003040690 Warsaw PAP in English 2240 GMT 29 Mar 90

[Text] Gdansk, March 29—A New Zealand diplomatic and trade mission, led by minister for foreign relations and trade Michael Moore, paid a visit here today. The mission had talks with Lech Walesa at the Solidarnosc headquarters to discuss the possibilities of New Zealand's participation in Western states assistance for Poland.

Walesa told the meeting: "Perhaps Poland is not a very attractive partner for cooperation still today but we have a great potential. We need assistance in overcoming the system that blocked us psychologically and economically and fostered stagnation. The West has obligations towards Poland. Our situation is a result of Yalta where we were deserted. We liberated ourselves politically, thus we should get economic assistance, that is, assistance in building a system that will enable us to repay debts. This is also the West's debt towards us."

Saying that his mission is made up of businessmen, bankers and experts at agriculture, Moore stated that he had come with concrete offers for Poland. They concern the setting up of exemplary breeding farms, technological assistance for agriculture, research into fertilization. It is possible to invite Polish farmers to take part in a training period in New Zealand.

Michael Moore extended an invitation to Lech Walesa to pay a visit to New Zealand and to take part in the observances of the 150th anniversary of setting up that country to be held this year. Chairman of the association of Poles in New Zealand Stanislaw Dabrowski took part in the meeting.

Visiting Minister Describes Trade Expansion

LD3003041190 Warsaw PAP in English 2315 GMT 29 Mar 90

["Communique of Visit of New Zealand delegation"—PAP headline]

[Text] Warsaw, March 29—A New Zealand economic delegation headed by the country's minister for foreign affairs and trade Mike Moore paid an official visit to Poland at the invitation of the Polish minister for foreign economic relations.

The goal of the delegation was to describe the possibilities and fields of establishing cooperation and expanding trade between the two countries in the new conditions of the market economy being introduced in Poland.

Minister Moore held talks with Minister of Foreign Economic Relation Marcin Swiecicki, Minister of Foreign Affairs Krzysztof Skubiszewski, Senate Speaker Andrzej Stelmachowski, Deputy Sejm Speaker Tadeusz Fiszbach, Vice Premier and Minister of Agriculture and the Food Economy Czeslaw Janicki and Minister of Natural Environment Protection and Natural Resources Bronislaw Kaminski.

The businessmen accompanying Moore held a number of meetings at foreign trade enterprises and economic ministries as well as the Narodowy Bank Polski and bureau of the World Bank in Warsaw.

The sides agreed that there were special possibilities of developing economic cooperation with New Zealand companies on joint venture principles in the field of:

—introduction of new technologies of farming production in Poland, chiefly in sheep and cattle rearing, agro-food processing (milk and meat), farming produce storage, natural environment protection including lowering the negative effects of chemicals in farming, water pollution and the like.

During the visit the New Zealand side confirmed that four investment projects currently being negotiated with Polish partners would be financed from funds earmarked by New Zealand last December for Poland and Hungary. One, worth 500 thousand New Zealand dollars is for technical aid, the other worth 250 thousand dollars for the training of experts in agriculture.

During the talks with Swiecicki, Moore stated that New Zealand would contribute to the bank of reconstruction and development within the framework of the Group of 24 industrialized states.

On the last day of the visit, Moore met with Solidarnosc chairman Lech Walesa whom he officially invited to pay a visit to New Zealand.

Ecology Protection Agreement Signed With Austria

LD2903200290 Warsaw PAP in English
1838 GMT 29 Mar 90

[Text] Warsaw, March 29—During a press conference, held here today, Austrian minister of environment, youth and family Marilies Flemming said that due to legal reasons the special waste, brought illegally to Poland, could not be returned to Austria.

However, she proposed a joint Polish-Austrian construction of waste-treatment installations which would destroy the waste. Minister Flemming announced that she would present this project to her government on this April 3.

Poland's minister of environmental protection, natural resources and forestry Bronislaw Kaminski, attending the same conference, announced that Poland and Austria signed a plan of cooperation in environmental protection for the years 1990-92. The plan provides for, among other projects, the construction of water waste-treatment plants in Poland in which Austria has considerable experience.

POLITYKA on Evolving Political Alignments

PM2903133690 Warsaw POLITYKA in Polish
17 Mar 90 p 16

[Krzysztof Teodor Toeplitz article from the "Polish Stew" column: The Reckoning"]

[Text] In his article published in GAZETA WYBORCZA, Adam Michnik opposes the dissenting or factional tendencies within the Citizens Parliamentary Club [OKP]. Michnik is right when he argues that in the 4 June 1989 elections, the voters who gave the present OKP parliamentarians their mandate did not really vote for national democrats, Christian democrats, social democrats, or any other political group. Instead, they all voted for Solidarity, which in turn brought them all together. Perhaps it would be even more accurate to say that on that date society did not vote for Solidarity and its program as much as it voted against the Polish United Workers Party [PZPR]; that the purpose of the vote was more to break all ties with what was and what had been, and less to consider what would be. But let us not argue over details.

Adam Michnik is a born and bred politician. His political instinct is almost infallible, and the important thing is that this special talent involves not only political instinct itself—which is not always necessarily accompanied by wisdom—but also this other necessary ingredient of political wisdom. This is why Michnik's opinions and also Michnik's fears must not be treated lightly: Let us not forget that it was precisely his article, "Your President—Our Premier" which opened a new chapter in Poland's history. A chapter which at that time seemed all but impossible.

The fact that the OKP—a parliamentary club evolving from a movement which in 1989 was characterized by strong social and political disparities—will soon begin to fall apart is hardly surprising. The coalition against PZPR rule combined such disparate elements walking side by side that it is more surprising that they actually reached the goal post together than that they are beginning to move apart now that they have passed it. I expect that before long—perhaps not during the approaching self-government elections, but certainly during the next parliamentary campaign—Poland's political landscape will comprise not only a deeply fragmented left including several peasant parties, several social democratic groups, and several liberal democratic associations, but also an equally splintered right of many different hues. A vision of a massive and mighty political bloc, similar to that

commanded by Solidarity in 1989 and spreading all the way from the center to the extreme right, seems to me the least likely prophesy of all.

But what does all this really mean for Poland?

The matter is sufficiently serious to warrant the need for absolute openness in all debates about it. And, to translate it into more concrete terms, it is not only a question of maintaining the present configuration of "our premier, your president," which represents the compromise suggested earlier by Michnik, but also a question of the future of the premier himself and that of all his government. As we know, Premier Mazowiecki's ratings in the popularity polls are now reaching heights which have not been recorded in Poland for many years—to be more precise, not since the days of Gomulka's triumph immediately after October 1956. Public response to the mounting problems and difficulties of the present day, and especially the continuing widespread public forbearance and endurance, also attest to a very high degree of credibility enjoyed by the government and its program.

However, this does not mean that the government has no opponents. They are to be found on both sides—within both the left wing and the right wing groups. Taking realistic stock of the situation, the left-wing opposition is not dangerous for this government now, and will not be dangerous for it for a long time to come. This is not only because the social democratic parties, with their dozen or so thousand members and their vague declarations, do not represent a serious force, but also because the left wing forces, including the National Trade Union Alliance [OPZZ] persist in their fundamental loyalty to the government even as they quarrel with it over particular minor issues, since they believe that there is no sensible alternative to the government strategy, especially in the economic sphere. We could even say more: Any left wing government, if it retained its power and really wanted to change the Polish economy, would have to do more or less the same as Balcerowicz is doing now, parts of which were initiated, after all, already by Rakowski and Sekula. The obvious fact remains, of course, that no left wing government would be allowed to do so and that if it were to attempt even as much as half of the current reform moves, it would be swinging from the lampposts in no time at all...

The only force to be reckoned with on the left—and one which could seriously threaten the Mazowiecki government—is the peasant movement. The peasants are not happy with the Balcerowicz reforms. They see themselves threatened by them; moreover, in practice the concept of restructuring the economy and deliberately forcing the smaller farms into bankruptcy—while theoretically faultless—comes at a time when increasing inflation in industry precludes all plans to channel the resulting superfluous labor force and the entire redundant peasant population from rural areas to the cities and into industrial employment. So where are they supposed to go once they are forced off their land—all in line with the correct economic strategy, of course—and replaced by larger and more dynamic specialized production farms? The unrest in the rural sector—which has been reflected even in the positions taken by Rural Solidarity and Gabriel Janowski—is in practical terms the most serious danger generated from among the ranks of the working people that the government will have to face.

However, we must not overlook the fact that Mazowiecki's government also has its opposition group within the right-wing camp. It is enough to read certain publications on this subject and to listen to the voice of the Confederation for an Independent Poland [KPN] which, as we know, decided to join the bloc of other extreme right-wing groups in the elections and to add its voice to their expressions of dissatisfaction with Mazowiecki's policies. I think that right now even within the OKP we can see a tendency to criticize Mazowiecki's government as "too soft" and "too conciliatory"—in other words, too democratic.

Is the danger from the right really serious?

We must remember that, as someone has calculated, the size of the population group active in party and political life at present amounts to some 10 percent of all Polish society. This means that the currently vigorously proliferating groups, societies, associations, and program platforms—however strident they may be—represent merely a surface fraction against the background of the "silent majority" which places its confidence in Mazowiecki and awaits an improvement of the situation with dogged patience. However, a large-scale revival of the rightist tendencies is possible if the expected effects of economic reforms fail to materialize, if the government loses control over the steering of the economic processes, if the recession becomes even deeper than predicted, if unemployment spreads wider than envisaged by official plans, and if hyperinflation comes back with a vengeance. If all these things happen, then it is possible that among many accusations and many exhortations that would then be directed to the government—amid which voices from the left wing camp would probably sound rather weak—we also hear calls for "strong-arm rule." On the face of it, such appeals could seem to be the expression of the voice of the people and appear quite democratic. They could even be interpreted as the voice of populism. Astonishingly, similar calls can occasionally be found in TYGODNIK SOLIDARNOSC. However, in actual fact it will represent a degree of unrest which the right wing and the extreme right wing orientation will be able to profit from.

Here begins a series of historical analogies which are impossible to ignore. To take prewar Germany as an example, was the government of the Weimar Republic before 1933 a strong, powerful, and efficient government? Of course it was not. Yet, despite its shortcomings, it was, as a bourgeois democratic government, infinitely better than the notorious "strong-arm rule" which followed after its collapse. Were the governments led by Witos and Wojciechowski before 1926 good

governments? Certainly not. Their inefficiency and ineffectiveness were so glaringly obvious that the entire left wing camp supported the May government coup [in which Pilsudski seized power]. But it was not long before it became equally obvious that the Witos and Wojciechowski governments were infinitely more democratic than those which followed them, especially after 1935.

I can think of many more historical analogies. I think we should certainly learn a lesson from them. There are an enormous number of people among our "silent majority" in Poland who find many actions and moves made by Tadeusz Mazowiecki's government highly confusing and controversial. This applies to its social policies, to some of its political gestures, to certain international policy maneuvers, to the entire field of culture, and to certain steps in the sphere of ideology, freedom of conscience, and its attitude to the past. Yes, all this is certainly true. But it is also true that it is a democratic government—probably the most democratic government that we can afford at the moment. This is why it is in the interests of all of Poland's democratic forces to keep this government in power.

Adam Michnik's article in GAZETA WYBORCZA referred directly to the situation that has evolved within the OKP. In actual truth, however, it is relevant to the entire situation developing in the country now. We would have to be deaf not to hear the calls for "strong-arm rule." We would have to be blind not to see that there is a campaign going on within the ruling camp—and not only behind the parliamentary wings, either—in which one of the sides is trying to disseminate and reinforce the opinion that Mazowiecki's is a weak government: an opinion which, among other things, equates weakness with the failure to make the image of a knife held in clenched teeth its perpetual trademark, to mercilessly string up all former nomenklatura figures, and to hold everyone else tightly muzzled.

Editors View Impact of Publishing House Breakup

AU3003100690 Warsaw TRYBUNA in Polish 23 Mar 90 p 3

[Unattributed report on statements by editors on the implications of the dismantling of the "Prasa-Ksiazka-Ruch" Workers' Cooperative Publishing House: "After Liquidation What Next?"]

[Excerpts] Jacek Poprzeczko, deputy editor in chief of POLITYKA: "We hope that POLITYKA will remain POLITYKA. We intend to continue to publish, and our readers are behind us. Even before the bill on the "Prasa-Ksiazka-Ruch" Workers' Cooperative Publishing House was passed, we took steps aimed at becoming independent. Our efforts succeeded, and the setting up of an independent publishing organization for POLITYKA was decided some time ago.

"At this point it is difficult to say whether we will operate as a company or whether we will set up a cooperative, as that depends on what will happen next to the law that has been put before the Sejm.

"What matters most to us is that we find a formula that will ensure that we can operate as a genuinely independent team. We would like to carry on in the spirit of the publication's policy line, which for us and our readers is synonymous with reacting to the important changes that are taking place." [passage omitted]

Artur Howzan, editor-in-chief of ZYCIE WARSZAWY and PRZEGLAD TYGODNIOWY: "At this decisive time, one has to think about the traditions of a particular press title and about the fact that what we decide to do now will be binding for many years to come, perhaps forever. So, today we should not take account of current divisions and arrangements of political forces, because newspapers and journalists would be split up into groups and factions, and Polish journalism, after all the adversities and difficulties that it has been through, does not want to be totally subordinated to particular political forces or tendencies.

"In this situation, ZYCIE WARSZAWY and PRZEGLAD TYGODNIOWY intend to acquire complete independence and do not want to be identified with any specific political force. Both titles should, above all, be newspapers reflecting public opinion that are capable of formulating their own judgments, and objective, honest assessments of the situation, and should come out clearly in favor of political, economic, and social change in Poland.

"Independence for papers can be ensured by means of a company whose shareholders vary greatly and none of whom has a controlling interest. So, no one should be able to make their personal mark on the content of the papers. The lines and policies pursued by the papers should have an open character.

"This kind of arrangement would satisfy editorial boards, who would acquire a sense of independence and whose material circumstances, which are generally known to be bad, would improve." [passage omitted]

Senate Reviews Liquidation

LD2903220390 Warsaw PAP in English 2040 GMT 29 Mar 90

[Text] Warsaw, March 29—The Senate began a two-day meeting today, forwarding two legislative initiatives: On protection of all-national property and on compensation for accidents at work and occupational diseases.

The upper house decided not to make reservations as to amendments to the law on the prosecutor's office introduced by the Sejm (lower house) a week ago.

At the outset Senate Speaker Andrzej Stelmachowski delivered a report on the visit of a Senate delegation to the USSR. The Senate thought it purposeful to develop further parliamentary contacts not only on the highest

level but also between respective committees and political groups. The senators met with representatives of the Polish community in the USSR and laid flowers at the foot of the cross in Katyn, the site of the wartime massacre of Polish officers by the Soviet NKVD. The speaker expressed a conviction that the Soviet side should take an official stand on this matter soon.

The Senate adopted a resolution on holding by-elections in the electoral district of the Lublin Voivodship to fill a seat following the death of Senator Adam Stanowski. The by-elections will be held on May 27, in other words on the same day as local self-government elections.

The first legislative intiative taken by the Senate concerns the reimbursement of benefits reaped at the cost of the state treasury and other state legal entities. The law is to be in effect for a year after it takes force.

The Second initiative of the Senate is a draft law on compensation for accidents at work and occupational disease. About 20 thousand accidents at work and 10 thousand new cases of occupational disease occur each year. The law would replace one from 1975, adopting some of its solutions which have worked.

With three votes against and 6 abstentions the Senate adopted a law on amending the law on the Prosecutor's Office, the misdemeanour code and the law on the supreme court. Just as the Sejm a week ago, the Senate also focused on the problem of verification of prosecutor's cadres.

The senate is to review the controversial law on the liquidation of the RSW "Prasa-Ksiazka-Ruch" publishing house on Friday.

SdRP Statement on Breakup

AU3003102590 Warsaw TRYBUNA in Polish 23 Mar 90 p 1

[Statement issued by the Central Executive Committee of the Social Democracy of the Polish Republic; place and date not given]

[Text] The law has become a political instrument. The Sejm passed a law on liquidating the "Ksiazka-Prasa-Ruch" Workers Cooperative Publishing House. This was done in a way that did not follow customary procedures—the views of those affected were not sought; the rights of shareholder were ignored; and the rules governing the work of the Sejm were flouted. A law that acts retroactively has been created.

This dangerous precedent has significance that extends beyond the law. The issue is one of closing newspapers that write critically about mounting unemployment, declining output, the uncertain future faced by college graduates, the deteriorating condition of agriculture, the harsh fate suffered by pensioners, and the collapse in housing construction.

It is no coincidence that the decision should have fallen at this time. It is a way of reducing the left's chances in the upcoming local elections. A climate of revenge and political confrontation is being fostered while declarations about the state based on the rule of law are being undermined and Poland is being moved further away from Europe.

Publishing House Decries Liquidation

AU3003101590 Warsaw TRYBUNA in Polish 23 Mar 90 p 3

[Statement issued by the board of directors of the "Prasa-Ksiazka-Ruch" Workers Cooperative Publishing House; place and date not given]

[Text] In light of the political and legal campaign that is being waged around the cooperative, the board of directors of the "Prasa-Ksiazka-Ruch" Workers Cooperative Publishing House [RSW] wishes to make the following statement:

1. The RSW's statutory organs and management, conscious of what is required by the new political situation in the country, were prepared to settle the question of the cooperative's assets honestly, submitting far-reaching proposals to that effect. However, the procedures and methods employed by the government commission did not create conditions for examining the proposals made by the RSW. We have reason to state that the members of the government commission yielded before pressure, political goals, and the influence of propaganda and were not guided by the desire to find solutions by way of serious negotiations. The subject of the RSW became a kind of symbol in a political game aimed at eliminating the left's influence on public opinion.

2. The situation led to the Sejm being hastily presented draft liquidation laws that create a dangerous precedent for a state based on the rule of law. This is because the precedent is one of circumventing the law and of creating new legislation in accordance with the political objectives of the parliamentary majority.

Our duty is to alert public opinion to this and its possible social effects in the form of the removal from the market of many independent, left-wing papers and the creation of an information monopoly for a one political force.

Committee Discusses Communications Demonopolization

LD3003042390 Warsaw PAP in English 2245 GMT 29 Mar 90

[Text] Warsaw, March 29—The development of telecommunications was the key topic discussed by the KERM, government economic committee.

An extensive report tabled by the Ministry of Communications contained both an evaluation of the present

state as well as a detailed list of undertakings of short- and long-term nature. The general principle is to demonopolize telecommunications, give access to private and foreign investors and introduced a free market in this field. Many companies want to enter the Polish market and offer various concepts and scope of such cooperation.

The KERM also discussed a government decree on the principles governing remunerations for the directors of state-run enterprises.

The economic committee approved a lowering of customs and lifting of turnover tax on products (machines and equipment) earmarked for the private food and trade sector.

The KERM also pondered on how to put to use budget resources allotted to restructuring. There are plans to establish an agency for industry restructuring.

Interview With Sejm Deputy on Parliamentary Left

AU3003085190 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 26 Mar 90 p 3

[Interview with Sejm Deputy Wieslawa Ziolkowska, chairperson of the Social Democratic Union Parliamentary Club, by 'M.U'-identified RZECZPOSPOLITA reporter; place and date not given: "Two Clubs—Two Seats"]

[Text] [RZECZPOSPOLITA] The division of the parliamentary left has become a fact. What effect will this have for the parliamentary left? Is cooperation between the clubs of the parliamentary left possible?

[Ziolkowska] I do not think that the creation of two separate clubs of the parliamentary left will weaken the left as a whole. By giving each club its own identity, we can each seek wider social support by the clearer articulation of the options offered by the left. The general convergence of the aims and values of both our clubs does not mean that the leadership and the paths toward these aims must necessarily be identical. I believe that in the long term, what has happened will lead to the formation of a strong counterweight against the rightist tendencies which are now becoming quite visible in the Sejm and in our society.

Cooperation between the various formations of the parliamentary left is not only possible, it is absolutely essential.

[RZECZPOSPOLITA] Observing your club's meeting last Friday, I noticed that nobody was shouting at anybody, and nobody was accusing anybody else of past errors or mistakes. Would it be true to say that this a foretaste of the new quality in parliamentary practice?

[Ziolkowska] A new quality? Possibly, but if that is the case then it is not for that reason only. Our club is wide open. We hope to attract new members as well as supporters. This formula of openness signifies our full readiness to cooperate with all the forces that are represented in the Sejm.

[RZECZPOSPOLITA] Does the Social Democratic Union of the Polish Republic stand a chance politically?

[Ziolkowska] Of course there is a risk that our new formation, still in its embryonic stage, will not get off the ground politically. We are doing everything to see that this does not happen and this will require absolute commitment from all those people who created and stand at the head of our movement.

Appeal Filed for Organizers of 1985 Strike

LD2803090990 Warsaw PAP in English 1848 GMT 27 Mar 90

[Text] Warsaw, March 27—The minister of justice has filed an extraordinary appeal against a 1985 verdict by the voivodship court in Gdansk in the case of Bogdan Lis, Adam Michnik and Wladyslaw Frasyniuk who had been found guilty of activity aimed at inciting public unrest.

On February 28, 1985 the three men organized a 15-minute strike, for which Michnik and Frasyniuk received three years and Lis two years and a half. The Supreme Court subsequently reduced Lis' sentence to two years in prison and that of Michnik to two years and a half.

The justice minister said that both verdicts had been based on an erroneous assumption that the strike incited public unrest. To the contrary, the activity of the then provisional coordinating committee in which all three were involved helped stave off a possibility of an uncontrolled upheaval, whereas it was the government's moves that triggered off public unrest at that time, the minister argued.

The justice minister demanded a change of the verdicts through acquittal of all three.

Real Politics Union Declares 'End to Socialism'

LD2803180590 Warsaw PAP in English 1449 GMT 28 Mar 90

[Text] Warsaw, March 28: Leader of the real politics union Janusz Korwin-Mikke spoke about the profile of his organization's new weekly "NAJWYZSZY CZAS" (High Time) in an interview for the KURIER POLSKI evening daily today. The first issue of the weekly came out on March 28.

It is "high time" for the end to socialism, Mikke told the daily and added that he is going to "beat the left like a drum" in his weekly.

Asked what he would do if his political opponents were defeated, Korwin-Mikke stated: "One can always find some left wing. When we have already defeated even

Michnik, we will see whether Professor Chrzanowski, for instance, has no leftist sympathies."

Chrzanowski is the leader of the Christian National Union, situated on the right wing of the Polish poltical map today.

New Journalists Association Elects Leader

LD2903192390 Warsaw PAP in English 1528 GMT 29 Mar 90

[Text] Warsaw, March 29—Marian Podkowinski was elected new chairman of the main board of the Journalists' Association of the Republic of Poland at its plenary meeting here today.

Hitherto honorary chairman of the association and doyen of Polish journalists, Podkowinski received 85 percent of the votes.

Jaruzelski Receives Democratic Party Leader

LD2803181390 Warsaw PAP in English 1620 GMT 28 Mar 90

[Text] Warsaw, March 28—President Wojciech Jaruzelski received here today chairmen of the Democratic Party CC [Central Committee] Aleksander Mackiewicz and his deputy Tadeusz Rymszewicz.

Wojciech Jaruzelski acquainted himself with the situation in the party and its plans for political activity in the nearest future.

Solidarity Daily Reports on Interior Ministry

LD2903185190 Warsaw PAP in English 1650 GMT 29 Mar 90

[Text] Warsaw, March 29—The GAZETA WYBORCZA Solidarity daily published today "a short report on Interior Ministry" containing interesting data on the department. Excerpts:

The Civic Militia (MO), the Security Service (SB), the Government Protection Office (BOR), the Border Military Guards (WOP), the Vistula Military Units and the Fire Brigades are all subjected to the Ministry of Internal Affairs. The department has its own health service, leisure centres, and hotels.

Secret objects for carrying surveillance, secret garages, secret intelligence and counterintelligence services, "dark numbers" of SB and MO paid collaborators, of contact and conspiracy offices, and the top-secret operation fund constitute obstacles to presenting a full picture of the Ministry of Internal Affairs.

The ministry's leadership refused to provide information on the number of its buildings in Warsaw and on their floor space. A high ranking ministry official argued that "we cannot disclose all our buildings as many of them are secret. If we reveal only some of them, then someone may claim we falsify the data."

The data we got at the ministry present its status quo. What it will be like in half a year, nobody knows. The Sejm and Senate committees keep on to introduce changes and amendments to draft laws on the Ministry of Internal Affairs, the GAZETA wrote.

There are 7,850 posts (excluding health service) in the ministry. Some 100 people are employed in managerial positions.

The majority of directors and their deputies are functionaries of the colonel rank, their wages this March amounting to 1,683,000 zlotics.

The ministry has 1,333 cars at its disposal.

Security Service

According to the data provided by the press office, at present there are 389 functionaries of the Security Service (SB) in the ministry's central office. The number includes auxiliary employees, secretaries, typists, drivers and charwomen as there are no civilian personnel in the security service.

SB head Jerzy Karpacz said that last June the Security Service numbered 24,000 functionaries throughout Poland.

Since then the number has dropped to 3,153 people. What has happened to the remaining 21,000? It is known that some of them retired and some were moved to the Militia. But the ministry declined to provide the exact data on "dislocation of its army".

The author of the article tried to obtain the data by himself. Since June, 1989 till this March the number of old-age and disability pensioners in the ministry has grown by 5,445 people. But if the number comprises only SB functionaries, which is not likely, there still remain some 15,500 from 21,000 employees.

Probably this or slightly lower number of security service functionaries have been renamed Militiamen.

Civic Militia

About 500 people work in the militia main headquarters, 109 of them being the so-called operational personnel.

According to the information received from the press spokesman for the militia headquarters, there are some 77,000 MO functionaries in Poland. If 3,000 SB employees are added to the number, there are about 80,000 people working for the ministry. This remains however in contradiction to the data received from the Ministry of Finance also in the end of March which indicate that there are 115,675 people employed in the Interior Ministry.

Government Protection Office

The Government protection Office BOR employs about 300 functionaries. Most of them are former soldiers of

the Commando Division of Krakow. There are also numerous graduates of the Sports Academy.

Employed are people with secondary school education but preferred are higher school graduates. The requirements are very high.

In 1989 BOR came into contact with 2,300 candidates. After first examinations considered were 450 people, and in result of further selection there were 75 of them left. Fially 8 people were employed.

The preliminary period lasts for three years.

All statesmen visiting Poland have their own body guards but usually they also want ours, not less than six to ten functionaries.

In Poland the Sejm and Senate speakers, members of the Government presidium, Ministers of State Jozef Czyrek, Jozef Koziol and Piotr Nowina-Konopka, the minister of internal affairs and Solidarity leader Lech Walesa have their body guards. Minister of Foreign Affairs Kryzysztof Skubiszewski, who is entitled to a body guard, gave it up. The president is protected by his own military service.

Border Military Guards

A total of 22,500 soldiers, including 15,000 from the basic military training and over 7,000 career soldiers, protect Poland's borders. They service, among other things, 49 border crossings and 164 watch-towers.

It is planned tha within several years border guards, to be formed from the present border military guards, will have some 19,000 functionaries, all of them career ones, the GAZETA WYBORCZA wrote.

Kwasniewski Considers Calling Early Elections

LD2903200490 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1730 GMT 29 Mar 90

[Text] The Social Democracy of the Polish Republic, SdRP, is considering whether or not it should propose that parliamentary elections be called as early as autumn of this year. The present distribution of power in the parliament does not reflect the current distribution of power [in the country], Aleksander Kwasniewski said at a meeting in Krakow.

He also admitted that the decision on taking over the financial affairs of the PZPR was wrong. A liquidation commission consisting of members of the former PZPR leadership and government representatives should have been set up instead.

Walesa Appeals for Participation in Elections

LD2903220690 Warsaw PAP in English 2110 GMT 29 Mar 90

[Text] Gdansk, March 29—Lech Walesa met today with home trade, services and catering workers of tri-city of Gdansk, Gdynia and Sopot and, against earlier announcements, invited journalists to the meeting, too.

This meeting was dominated by Poland's economic issues: growing hardships of everyday life, sky-rocketing prices, unemployment which becomes ever more distinct, etc. The Solidarity chairman took pains to convince his interlocutors that despite its peaceable and evolutionary character the Polish revolution also takes a toll of sacrifice.

You are perfectly in the right, he admitted, to be disillusioned. It is even worse than you say. I am also disillusioned. Naturally, we may overthrow government every two days, but you do not change horses right in the middle of the river. Our history is a one of tossing around. We have always convulsed and not put things through. So, let's give the government and their programme a chance now, all the more so, as nobody has designed any better one.

We are putting things in order, he went on. We are overhauling Poland and such an overhaul is always preceded by a mess. We have regained freedom which is to bring on bread. If it turns out necessary I shall say "no" and scale the fence again, but all the opportunities of action and of building up Poland must be used before.

Walesa appealled for society's active participation in the local authority's election campaign.

Asked about Lithuania, L. Walesa underscored all countries had to have possibilities for self-determination and Poles should argue for the Lithuanian's right to that in particular. He also voiced his disapproval for statesmen's position on this matter in the world, holding excessive circumspection and procrastination on the Lithuanian issue against them, but he ducked an answer to a question whether he regarded the Polish Government to be a procrastinator, too.

Once again the question of his political ambitions popped up during the conference.

I do not feel like being a jester, said he. Nowadays, I am putting through what I have been working on for 25 years. And I am always being called to think whether that what has already been done is that what I wanted, whether I am not standing in the way. Life shows that the first term of office is usually filled with an honest service, next ones are only sitting it out. I know lots of people who have sticked [as received] to their chairs and I should not like to be one of them, but I should not botch up what has already been achieved either. I should not like to betray, cheat out and back off. I have not made my mind up when to go yet. I would like to build such a system which would preclude a new Stalin, a system without monopolies, a controllable one. I have got doubts whether such a system is already at work, because I see there are some people in this country who have an itch to hold onto their "chairs" for good.

Czestochowa Voivodship Council Recalls Lipowski

LD2903193990 Warsaw PAP in English 1820 GMT 29 Mar 90

[Text] Czestochowa, March 29—The voivodship people's council in Czestochowa recalled Czestochowa voivode Grzegorz Lipowski from his post by secret ballot here today.

Lipowski had earlier presented his resignation, and the people's council took into consideration a relevant motion from the Polish Prime minister tabled to them in consultation with the Council's Presidium. 71 Councillors voted for and 29 against the motion.

Acting on the basis of the resolution adopted by the Voivodship People's council of Czestochowa, the Polish prime minister recalled Grzegorz Lipowski from the post of Czestochowa voivode.

Sejm Deputy on Warsaw Pact, NATO Definitions

LD3003041690 Warsaw PAP in English 2345 GMT 29 Mar 90

[Text] Vienna, March 29—On his way to a session of the executive committee of the Inter-Parliamentary Union, Sejm deputy on behalf of the Citizen's Parliamentary Club OKP Janusz Onyszkiewicz met head of the Polish delegation for the Vienna negotiations of 23 states on conventional forces in Europe and for the Conference on Confidence and Security Building Measures Ambassador Wlodzimierz Konarski.

Onyszkiewicz had also talks with several heads of delegations of Warsaw Treaty and NATO states.

Onyszkiewicz told PAP that: "We now need to define anew the entire philosophy of the Warsaw Treaty and the same applies to NATO, I think that both alliances should become more regional security pacts rather than military pacts aimed at a definite geographical direction of threat. We build a new system that will shape future Europe."

Uznam's German Residents Demand Unification

LD3003042690 Warsaw PAP in English 2300 GMT 29 Mar 90

[Text] Berlin, March 29—Residents of the GDR part of the island of Uznam demand its unification, which would also mean a change of the border with Poland.

Asked about the attitude to these demands, chairman of the CDU [Christian Democratic Union] district organization in Mecklenburg Guenter Krause answered that for his party the border with Poland was not a subject for discussion. In this context, he referred to a statement by chairman of the GDR CDU Lothar de Maiziere: "We will not shift the borders of states."

Sejm Committees Debate Municipal Guards

LD3003044190 Warsaw PAP in English 2350 GMT 29 Mar 90

[Text] Warsaw, March 29—Numerous Senate and Sejm committees debated here today.

May 3 will be a national day and July 22 will be cancelled as such, is an opinion of members of the Sejm legislative committee and this was the first reading of draft laws to this effect.

Sejm deputies discussed the 10th version of a draft law on police at a joint meeting of the administrative, internal affairs and legislative committees. They came out for consulting the appointments of voivodship and regional police commanders and commanders of police stations with the proper local self-government authorities. The draft envisages the possibility of setting up municipal guards by mayors of presidents of towns.

Confederation Chairman on Pace of Changes

LD3003043990 Warsaw PAP in English 2330 GMT 29 Mar 90

[Text] Krakow, March 29—Chairman of the Confederation for Independent Poland Leszek Moczulski said the following at a meeting with Krakow residents at the culture centre at Nowa Huta, the district of Krakow, today:

"The changes are too slow, Poland is still in the CMEA [CEMA], the Soviet Army stations on our territory, the man who declared martial law is president and the party that entirely collapsed has the most numerous floor group in the Sejm, only under a different name."

Moczulski said that society was not yet ready for elections for territorial self-government as old cliques linked to power and political system continued to exist. He said there was a need for parliamentary elections for which society was ready and expected them.

Iliescu, Roman Send Messages to Timisoara

AU2503144490 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1100 GMT 25 Mar 90

[Report on messages from Ion Iliescu, Provisional National Unity Council president, and Prime Minister Petre Roman to Timisoara residents on the 100th day since the outbreak of the December revolution; date not given]

[Text] Ion Iliescu, Provisional National Unity Council president, sent the following message to the residents of Timisoara:

Dear residents of Timisoara, today marks the 100th day since the outbreak in your city of the December revolution, which restored Romania's dignity and freedom. The courage, determination, and spirit of sacrifice proved by the heroes of Timisoara, to whom we want to pay homage, have marked in our national history a bloody event that can never be forgotten: the beginning of our nation's rise against cruelty, tyranny, and aberrant communist totalitarianism.

Timisoara lit the flame of our joint wish and struggle against the darkness in which Romania was kept. We bow to the memory of those who sacrificed their own life for the future of our country. To consolidate our freedom for which we paid so dearly and to create a truly free and democratic Romania in the common European home we have to continue to struggle, because the process of building a new Romanian society is much more complicated and will be longer than the irresistible explosion of the revolution only three months ago.

Let us look to the future with confidence and hope. Let us once again swear to those who are no longer among us that their struggle and sacrifice have become sacred, that we will know how to defend the ideals for which they sacrificed their lives. This is the most beautiful wreath of gratitude and hope which all of us can lay on the grave of their sacrifice.

Prime Minister of the government Mr. Petre Roman has sent a message to the Timisoara residents which emphasizes:

Silently and humbly I join your commemoration of those who fell in the revolution. Now, as then, our souls are hurting with emotion when we hear the name of the city of Timisoara: the hero of the revolution.

A hundred days ago you paid the price of our salvation—the price of the long dreamed of freedom, democracy, and dignity—with your own blood. In thought we were at your side. In the night of 21 December the killing of your brothers—and our brothers in the revolution—stirred in us unheard of forces and the courage to fight against the murderous insanity with our hands and naked bodies only protected by our (?hearts), and it stirred the courage to overthrow the dictatorship.

Our victory, sanctioned on 22 December, gave birth to a wave of human fraternity which embraced the whole of Europe.

We bow to the dead of your city. We express thanks to Timisoara which joins us today to rethink and rebuild a new Romania, a Romania of regained dignity and of prosperity. Let us eternally preserve the memory of the heroes of the revolution.

Foreign Ministry Seeks Talks With Hungary

AU2803203790 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1905 GMT 28 Mar 90

["Official News: Romania Has Prepared Constructive Proposals for Hungary" —ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 28/3/1990—The Romanian Foreign Ministry wishes the election campaign in Hungary to end as soon as possible "because certain problems of the Romanian-Hungarian relations and the Romanian domestic policy have been used in a distorted manner during this period, which has led not only to affecting bilateral relations but also to negatively bearing on some events in Romania, making the efforts toward promoting democratization and guaranteeing the foremost human rights and freedoms harder."

A statement on this matter sent to ROMPRES on Wednesday also shows:

"The decision on the future leadership of Hungary must be taken, as is but natural, by the Hungarian people. We shall continue to work with those it will elect. We hope that the government to be set up in Hungary soon be a responsible partner in the talks we intend to conduct for the achievement of genuinely good-neighbourly relations and the creation of an atmosphere of collaboration and mutual respect."

Through the agency of Hungary's Embassy in Bucharest Romania's willingness was shown that, immediately after the new Hungarian Government took over the leadership, effective official discussions begin with regard to several problems related to bilateral ties. The Romanian side has already prepared a package of constructive proposals which cover the legal framework, political contacts, cultural aspects, and others."

Police Statement on Transylvanian Incidents

AU2903184690 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1715 GMT 29 Mar 90

["Police Statement"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 29/3/1990—Police forces cannot and are not called upon to solve inter-ethnic questions. It is our political system that should do it while observing all the principles of democracy, stated Colonel General Jean Moldoveanu, deputy minister of the interior, at a news conference in Bucharest on Wednesday afternoon in connection with the events in

Tirgu Mures between 19 and 20 March. He also said the Ministry of the Interior would take appropriate measures to reevaluate the activity of the police that should no longer use old methods in ensuring quiet and public order. According to the statement made at the same conference by another deputy minister of the interior, Major General Cornel Diamandescu, there were 190 policemen in Tirgu Mures at the time, who had the mission to guarantee order.

The journalists' collocutors informed about the course of the regrettable events in Tirgu Mures, the stage of investigations to find out the offenders and about the measures taken to ensure public tranquility and citizens' safety.

Now, Major General Diamandescu said, there are no more conflicts in the county. Patrols completed by Romanian and Magyar citizens go through the town of Tirgu Mures. In the last two days work resumed in enterprises, in economic and sociocultural units, including education which has taken a normal course. On 28 March there still were 52 wounded (32 Romanians and 22 Magyars) in hospital, of which six in a grave condition.

Special Envoy Meets Transylvanian Delegates

AU2903184090 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1727 GMT 29 Mar 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 29/3/1990—On Wednesday, March 29, political decision makers in Covasna County met with Mr Adrian Motiu, special envoy of Prime Minister Petre Roman. In this respect Mr Attila Puskas, vice-president of the county organization of the Hungarian Democratic Union of Romania, stated: "The interview with Mr Motiu was highly welcomed. We from the Hungarian Democratic Union and our colleagues from "Vatra Romaneasca" were in the attendance and we both expressed our viewpoints. The same day, Mr Motiu had a similar meeting in Harghita County and on March 30 he will have a similar meeting in Cluj, which will be attended by delegates from Covasna and Harghita, too. Anyway, the talks we conducted and the understandings we reached are very promising and after the meeting in Cluj we hope to take an important step forward towards solving our joint problems through dialogue and mutual understanding. What matters now is that the mass media no longer carry unverified or tendentious news items since they do the greatest disfavour to our mutual cause."

Tirgu Mures PNUC President Calls City 'Calm'

AU2903201190 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1755 GMT 29 Mar 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 29/3/1990—Cornel Gheorghe, president of the Tirgu Mures City Provisional National Unity Council, informed that last night passed without events. The order-keeping patrols, made up of citizens and policemen, did not notice aspects running counter to social norms and laws. It was in that climate of calm, tranquility and optimism that the economic, social and political life started on Thursday. Activities are being normalized in the economic units of the city. The same holds true for the activity of supplying the population with everything necessary as all the trading units are opened and operate according to their regular schedules.

Foreign Newsmen Study Cause of Ethnic Unrest

AU3003122690 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0919 GMT 30 Mar 90

["Transylvania: Foreign Journalists in Tirgu Mures"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES 30/3/1990—A group of journalists representing NEUE ZURICHER ZEITUNG, ZURICHER ZEITUNG, TRIBUNE DE GENEVE, BASEL ZEITUNG, DIE WELT, FRANKFURTER RUNDSCHAU, made a trip to Tirgu Mures on March 29, to get informed of the causes and course of the tragical events in that city.

They were shown on the occasion how the national feelings of the two populations were exalted, the evolution of the clashes and conflicts of March 15-16 and 19-20, the toll of which was three dead and 269 wounded, including 36 very severely, as reported by the city police chief.

Referring to the frame of mind in the city, Mr. Bela Marko, representative of the Hungarian Democratic Union of Romania, stressed that all Tirgu Mures population was somewhat fearful because of the recent events. He said inter alia: I think violent acts are still possible. But we hope to instate peace. I am sure we will eliminate this fear."

"We are not threatened and do not threaten," said in turn Mr. Petre Olaru, honorary president of the "Vatra Romaneasca" Union, adding: together with the Hungarians we can live peacefully here, in Tirgu Mures, and all over Transylvania."

During the meeting with the representatives of the two organizations, the claims of the Hungarian population were presented on education of all grades in the mother tongue, on cultural establishments and spiritual activity in the mother tongue, cultural autonomy and the use of the Hungarian in public life in the zones with dense population of Hungarian nationality.

In this sense, Mr. Marko ruled out the assertions that the Hungarian minority would want administrative autonomy or territorial changes.

In their addresses, representatives of the Vatra Romaneasca Union considered that such claims were exaggerated, that they had to be carefully analyzed, starting from the reason that Romania is the common homeland of all, and the Romanian language the state's official language.

"We agree to the minorities' cultural autonomy," said Mr Mircea Margineanu, representative of the National Liberal Party [NLP]. The NLP Platform pursues equality of rights for all minorities with the Romanian population but, at the same time we are against territorial claims or against claims for administrative autonomy. The NLP urges to moderation, calm and lucid-mindedness as a way out of the crisis."

Vatra Romaneasca President Ceontea on Aims

AU2903175590 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1635 GMT 29 Mar 90

["Transylvania—What Is Vatra Romaneasca?"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 29/3/1990—The Romanian news agency ROMPRES asked Mr Radu Ceontea, president of "Vatra Romaneasca" Union, a number of questions regarding its place in the current Romanian social life.

"Vatra Romaneasca" Union, he said, is a public, humanitarian organization that campaigns for the attainment of the noble ideals of the December 1989 revolution, taking the desideratum of a real democracy in present-day society as a basis. By its entire activity, "Vatra Romaneasca" pursues the according to current demands, to restore the true Romanian national values to their rights, promote the coexistence in good understanding with the minorities, the observance of national identity and the assertion, for the benefit of the Romanian homeland, of all its inhabitants, irrespective of nationality, profession or religious belief, to decently live in a united and free Europe.

The union subordinates to no party, and aims at attaining its goals by legal means, through debates on the historical, cultural, artistic and literary traditions, and through the knowledge of the socioeconomic process in Romanian society as a unitary statal entity. We are witnesses of a genuine democracy, of the recovery of the historic truth in all its moments, of the Romanian population's spiritual rebirth, the creation of new bridges and mutual knowledge of all the Transylvanian inhabitants. We also intend to enlighten the people with regard to the Romanians' historical past, to its continuity in Transylvania as well as to safeguard territorial integrity by non-political means, and Transylvania's belonging to Romania, a fact sealed by the historical act of 1918.

Referring to the causes conducive to the foundation of the union, Mr Ceontea said:

"Vatra Romaneasca" Union can be an outcome of the deterioration of relations between the Magyar minority and the Romanian majority in Transylvania, taking into account the sorrowful experience of the past or of late. Without being a political organization we are ready to take an attitude against the Magyar minority's excessive, separatist and anti-Romanian claims.

I think [that it is] unjust for the Magyar minority in Romania to claim privileges instead of rights and consider itself an elite minority. I disapprove of the liveliness of the extremist Hungarian leaders who have exercised pressures ever since the first days after the revolution to hastily win unjustifiably, by taking the example of other democracies in the world, not rights but postrevolutionary profits without a legal coverage, Mr Ceontea said.

Referring to the fact that some think "Vatra Romaneasca" Union would be a fascist-type extremist organization, its president said:

Indeed, there is no public or political grouping in Romania for which so much unjustified and fierce hatred has been shown by the Hungarians in Romania. Most of them do not know what "Vatra Romaneasca" Union is. Even before we founded our organization we were treated with invectives. It is explainable for some to be concerned. "Vatra Romaneasca" means in fact Romania. If it has some millions of members now, one cannot exclude that in a near future all Romanians in the country and abroad become members of this organization. In these conditions, maybe it is understandable that some, who nurture other thoughts than fair ideals, should not wish us, and certainly try, by various means, to discredit us. As I know, Mr Ceontea said, no extremist organization has had so far such a large membership as our union has now. That is why I should like to conclude this talk by asking: When nearly all the Romanians in the country and abroad become members of the "Vatra Romaneasca" Union, what is to be said about them?

Romanian Magyars Alliance Outlines Program

LD2903222290 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 2000 GMT 29 Mar 90

[Text] The Democratic Alliance of Magyars of Romania considers as its most important task to create legal frameworks which will guarantee the settlement of the nationality relations.

The program draft of the organization which was prepared recently emphasizes that it is not a party and is free from ideological obligations.

The Democratic Alliance of Magyars of Romania dissociates itself from all manifestations which violate, question, or endanger the sovereignty of Romania and its territorial integrity.

According to the program draft, the organization rejects every manifestation of nationalism and chauvinism. Authors of the document propose to establish independent Hungarian text book publishing, reinstate the Bolyai university, and establish the network of education in the vernacular in Romania from kindergarten to universities.

Former Emigres Allowed To Run in Elections

AU2903145490 Bucharest ADEVARUL in Romanian 17 Mar 90 p 1

[Darie Novaceanu article: "Exile, Solidarity Without Frontiers"]

[Excerpts] Mr. Radu Campeanu's [president of the National Liberal Party] prompt, sincere, to the point, and apparently spontaneous remark on the question of the Romanian emigres abroad, has again focused attention on the delicate and most difficult problem of Romanian exiles, and how they should be dealt with. Mr. Radu Campeanu's intervention [during the 13 March session of the Provisional National Unity Council] only dealt with one of the solutions—namely, the conditions for the eligibility of exiles to run in the elections, a solution which was rapidly agreed upon by appealing to emotions. The resolution of the other and more difficult problems connected with this issue will be a long term proposition and will probably last for the entire duration of our transition to democracy. [passage omitted]

The paragraph from the initial draft electoral law concerning the illegibility of those who had been absent from the country for the past 10 years had caused lots of sleepless nights to many people, because it placed many would-be aspirants to a parliament seat outside the competition. Now, the provisions of the paragraph have become meaningless and the parliament seats are available to everyone. Hence the near unanimity of the vote on this law, which is probably the most generous law of its kind in the world. [passage omitted]

The exclusion of the aforementioned paragraph from the electoral law can be considered, seen from the perspective of the Romanian exile, as a kind of solidarity without frontiers. [passage omitted]

Government Spokesman Denies Campaign Report

AU2803190890 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1845 GMT 28 Mar 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES 28/3/1990—The spokesman for the Romanian prime minister denied the news item disseminated by the Free Europe station according to which Mr Jacques Seguela of the French publicity firm Roux, Seguela, Cayzac and Goudard would have been requested by the Romanian Government to organize the election campaign of the National Salvation Front or of a personality representing the Front.

It was specified that Mr Seguela had verbally confirmed to the government's representative there was no such an official request.

The Romanian Government shows its disappointment at such a misinformation of the Romanian public opinion, and expects Mr Seguela and the Free Europe Radio station to make the due denial public, says a statement released in Bucharest today.

NCDPP Demands Postponement of Elections

AU2903124590 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0952 GMT 29 Mar 90

["Election Campaign: Postpone-the-Election Claim"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 29/3/1990—The National Christian and Democratic Peasant Party [NCDPP] "insistently demands that the election (set for 20 May) be postponed by at least thirty days".

On analysing the situation in the country, the party leadership supplies as arguments "the objective impossibility to carry on an election campaign against the background of violence, confrontation, and a destabilizing competition", DREPTATEA newspaper writes.

Iliescu Says Factories Visit Not 'Electoral'

AU2903183090 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1700 GMT 29 Mar 90

[Interview with Ion Iliescu, president of the Provisional National Unity Council, by unidentified reporter; place and date not given—recorded]

[Text] [Reporter] Mr. Ion Iliescu, today you visited the Electronica Enterprise and the Computers Enterprise. Would you like to comment on these two visits? Some people are also asking themselves whether this visit is connected with the electoral campaign?

[Iliescu] This is not an electoral visit, but rather a normal visit, as I wanted to see these two enterprises, which belong to one of the peak branches of our economy. We would like to develop this branch further. Our future plans and the program of the National Salvation Front envisage the development of computer science as a promising, long term process. This field is currently the decisive element in contemporary technological development and in the foundation of the contemporary technological progress. Consequently, these branches connected with electronics, computer science, and data processing must pioneer the effort to place the national economy on technological bases.

I wanted to see on the spot the situation prevailing in these enterprises. Actually, this is a field that I have closely followed in recent years, in my capacity as former director of the TEHNICA Publishing House, when I cooperated with many people from these units. It was a pleasure to meet with these people, from these young units, with young employees, and female personnel [commotion, laughter in the background], open-hearted, sincere, and warm people. [laughter, applause] I like warm, open, and enthusiastic people.

Free-Exchange Party Presents Platform

AU2903184490 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1739 GMT 29 Mar 90

["Political Parties Introduce Themselves—The Free-Exchange Party"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 29/3/1990—A new grouping emerged in Romania's political life—the Free-Exchange Party, an organization of "moral nuance," whose major aim is to work for changes in the spiritual realm. It is set on a doctrine in the literary and political thinking of great Romanian writer and playwright Ion Luca Caragiale, who can be considered the spiritual patron of the movement.

Noteworthy among the principles enshrined in its platform-programme are those of civic life, such as equality before the law of all citizens, freedom of thinking and of speech, the freedom of the press and its duty to correctly inform public opinion and to promote a civilized exchange of opinions, full freedom of religious beliefs. Furthermore, the Free-Exchange Party states for equal rights and duties for all national minorities, without discrimination.

In the social and cultural life, the Free-Exchange Party militates for the individual's right to assert his identity and aptitudes, for the development and updating of education of all grades, for a link between school and national economic and cultural requirements, for the development of Romanian culture in the spirit of the its best traditions, for broad openness to universal values.

As for the economic life, this newly-created party states for the existence of all forms of property private, cooperative, mixed, participative and state property—considering they all contribute to progress and the growth of economic efficiency.

Article on 'Maturity' of Parliamentary Debates

AU2803090290 Bucharest ADEVARUL in Romanian 20 Mar 90 p 1

[Mihai S. Valcu article: "Lucidity in Parliament and "Heated" Atmosphere in the Streets"]

[Text] All in all, the recent discussions within the Provisional National Unity Council were almost invigorating; not only because of the subjects discussed, which concern the very future of our country, but also because of the fact that the imperative of seeking solutions to the current difficult and multiple problems very often lent the parliamentary discussions the seriousness and maturity that truly legitimates any work with lasting implications. Despite quite a great number of differences of views and confrontations of ideas, a consensus was finally reached, thus making things progress.

Along with this, mass media also publicized many other aspects of the manifestation of the human spirit—meetings, gatherings, demonstrations and so forth. Undoubtedly, their legitimacy cannot be questioned either, because each social group and each political orientation can be expressed freely in public. In contradiction to the parliamentary scene where the tendency prevails to seek answers to pressing questions, in street events the constructive spirit is in large part atrophied by the vehemence of slogans and the very emotional, often hot, atmosphere in which these events take place. By definition, such an atmosphere is not and cannot be favorable to identifying rational and level-headed solutions. On the contrary, it gives birth to suspicion, fear, and concern; it deepens feuds and splits in society, and fans political or national emotions; and, moreover, it diverts attention from what, we believe, proves to be really essential now: to avoid by all means chaos in the economy and to eliminate the threat of an escalation of inflation and unemployment which may generate social convulsions difficult to master. The nonchalance with which slogans designed to inflame the spirits are launched or taken over, now when there is so much need for calm and lucidity, seems to prove at least the fact that some people, too taken with the fervor of the moment, do not realize what the consequences of such events may be.

This being the case with the political atmosphere of late, with increased hopes we are awaiting Saturday, when the Parliament proceedings will be resumed within the framework of which the partners in the dialogue are more and more listening to one another and where—in a more easy or more difficult way—they try to seek further solutions for our country's tomorrow.

PNUC Executive Bureau Meeting Begins 28 Mar

AU2803104290 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0920 GMT 28 Mar 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 28/3/1990—The meeting of the Executive Bureau of the Provisional National Unity Council started on March 28 in the morning.

On the first item of the agenda an account was presented on behalf of the Government Commission instituted under the decision of the Provisional National Unity Council's Executive Bureau, regarding the actions in Tirgu Mures. Then the meeting will discuss a package of decree-laws and will establish the agenda for the March 30, 1990 session of the Provisional National Unity Council.

Notes Tirgu Mures Situation

AU2803171690 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1500 GMT 28 Mar 90

[Text] A meeting of the Executive Bureau of the Provisional National Unity Council [PNUC] took place today under Mr. Ion Iliescu's chairmanship.

On the basis of a report presented by PNUC Vice President Mr. Ion Minzatu on behalf of the commission set up on the basis of the 20 March Executive Bureau decision, the situation in Tirgu Mures Municipality, as

well as in Mures, Covasna, and Harghita Counties, was examined, as were actions taken to settle the problems that have emerged.

The meeting assessed positively the fact that, due to the activity carried out by the commission with the active contribution of local bodies, and primarily the contribution by Vatra Romaneasca Union and the Hungarian Democratic Union of Romania in Mures County, the situation has calmed down, an open dialogue has started, and a joint accord was achieved in connection with further measures that have to be taken.

On the basis of written proposals presented by the Vatra Romaneasca Union and by the Hungarian Democratic Union of Romania, a coordination group made up of the two sides is currently working out the text of a common platform that will be finalized and discussed during the plenary session of the joint commission at the beginning of next week.

It was agreed that the proceedings of the PNUC commission should continue directly with the joint Romanian-Hungarian County Commission to finalize and adopt, as soon as possible, the common platform.

Acknowledging the statement made on the Romanian Radio Television station on 24 March by PNUC President Mr. Ion Iliescu, the Executive Bureau endorsed this statement, which it views as an important document that encourages dialogue and relaxes the situation created.

The Executive Bureau then discussed and endorsed decree laws on certain rights of people who had to suffer because of their opposition to the dictatorship that was installed beginning 6 March 1945; on Romania's adherence to the international convention against taking hostages; on accepting the convention regarding the protection of the world cultural and natural patrimony adopted by UNESCO on 16 November 1972; on the amendment and abrogation of some provisions of decree law No. 45 of 1990 regarding the legal status of Romania's state border; and on the retirement of lawyers at an early age.

At the third point on the agenda, the Executive Bureau set the preliminary agenda of the PNUC session schedule to be held on 30 March 1990.

Session Resumes 30 Mar

AU3003083890 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0755 GMT 30 Mar 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 30/3/1990—The Provisional National Unity Council [PNUC] has resumed works in plenum on March 30 in the morning.

The agenda includes an account of the commission set up by the PNUC Executive Bureau for the investigation of the events occurred in Tirgu Mures City and in localities in the region in the second half of March, as well as the endorsement of decree-laws and decrees debated and endorsed by the Executive Bureau between the two PNUC sessions.

PNUC Lists Agenda

AU3003103490 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0927 GMT 30 Mar 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 30/3/1990—The session of the Provisional National Unity Council [PNUC] of March 30 has the following agenda: I. Account of the commission set up by the Executive Bureau of the Provisional National Unity Council to investigate the events that occurred in the Tirgu Mures city and the localities in the region in the second half of March.

II. Decree-laws and decrees debated and endorsed by the Council's Executive Bureau in the March 21 and 28, 1990 sessions:

1. Draft decree-law on the activities on which the government endorses decisions.
2. Draft decree-law on interest rates to be paid to the population by the savings and loan bank for the money deposits on saving instruments, as well as by banks for deposits of social shares.
3. Draft decree-law on measures referring to the state child benefit.
4. Draft decree-law on the ratification of the instrument of amending the Constitution of the International Labour Organization, endorsed in Geneva, on June 25, 1986.
5. Draft decree-law on the activity of retail sale of goods for convertible currency through the units of the Ministry of Tourism.
6. Draft decree-law on granting scholarships to the pupils of the Ministry of the Interior's military schools.
7. Draft decree-law on granting rights to persons who suffered because of their opposition to the dictatorship established on March 6, 1945.
8. Draft decree-law on measures to improve the pay of the Romanian radiotelevision working personnel.
9. Draft decree-law on the abrogation and amendment of some provisions in the law No 57/1974.
10. Draft decree-law on Romania's adhesion to the international convention against making hostages.
11. Draft decree-law on amending and extending article 189 in the Penal Code.
12. Draft decree on acceptance of the convention on the protection of the world cultural and natural heritage, endorsed by the United Nations General Conference on Education, Science and Culture on November 16, 1972.
13. Draft decree-law on amending and abrogating certain provisions in the decree-law No 45/1990 on the legal regime of Romania's state frontier.
14. Draft decree-law on including certain categories of employees in labour groups I and II.
15. Draft decree-law on lawyers' reduced age-limit pensioning.
16. Draft decree-law on abrogating the decree No 99 of July 30, 1975.
17. Draft decree-law on abrogating certain normative acts.

German Forum Corrects ROMPRES Statement

AU2903185990 Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 22 Mar 90 p 2

[Text] Concerning an ROMPRES-datelined item published by ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian on 11 March 1990 on page 3: The Democratic Forum of Germans From Romania announces that its representatives were submitted such a document for signing on 13 March 1990—that is, two days after the publication of the press item. The Forum also points out that it is not the first time that such mistakes have occurred in the activity of the Commission on Minorities of the Provisional National Unity Council.

The Democratic Forum of Germans From Romania

(Note of the daily's editorial board: We ask the ROMPRES agency to clarify who assumed the responsibility for speaking on behalf of the 12 national minorities)

Roman Meets Nationality Organizations' Spokesman

LD2803090890 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 2000 GMT 27 Mar 90

[Text] In Cluj, the Romanian head of government held simultaneous discussions with representatives of the RMDSz [Democratic Alliance of Magyars in Romania] and the Vatra Romaneasca organization. He stated that the Romanian leaders had never questioned the assertion of minority rights, but in implementation it urges the observation of a rational tempo.

At the meeting, the RMDSz representatives upheld their standpoint that the Magyar nationality should have its own system of educational institutions, from nursery school to university. The RMDSz reaffirmed that it rejects every attempt to interpret the guaranteeing of nationality rights as an endeavor that violates the independence and sovereignty of the Romania state, and the interests of the Romanian people. The Magyars' representatives stressed with emphasis that the RMDSz is not an anti-organization, and so it is incorrect to describe it as an extremist organization that opposes the Vatra Romaneasca.

The members of this latter organization, in the presence of Premier Petre Roman, said in their reply that it was in the interest of safeguarding the spirit of Romania-hood that it had been necessary to form their organization. They stressed that acquaintance with each other's standpoints could preclude misunderstandings. At the same time, they admitted that in their ranks there are also groups representing extremist views.

At the end of the meeting, Petre Roman appealed to both sides for patience. He made a new promise for the guaranteeing of nationality rights and he asked for time for his government to resolve the problems.

Meeting With TV Chief Theodorescu on Programs

AU2903133290 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0853 GMT 29 Mar 90

["Mass Media: Dialogue With the Romanian RTV Executive"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 29/3/1990—Pursuant to the latest meeting of the Civic Committee for the Romanian Radiotelevision's [RTV] Independence with the institution's executive it was agreed that the contest commissions for the offices of editor or speaker should include also representatives of the major newspapers (ROMANIA LIBERA, DREPTATEA, LIBERTATEA, TINERETUL LIBER and ADEVARUL) and also that the RTV committee on public relations be reorganized. It was also established that the broadcasts in Hungarian and German be entirely translated into Romanian, the assignment of adequate time in the broadcasts to the French TV programs and one hour weekly assigned on Program II—which is not received in all parts of the country, to the Group for Social Dialogue, says in ROMANIA LIBERA on March 28 the group's spokesman, Mr. Florin-Gabriel Marculescu.

A new meeting with the Romanian RTV, Mr. Razvan Theodorescu takes place today at the headquarters of the Civic Committee, to discuss the proposals connected with the improvement of the programs and their extension with complete and objective information from all over the country. [sentence as received]

The Civic Committee for the Romanian Radiotelevision's Independence, set up late last February upon the initiative of the Group for Social Dialogue, operates as an autonomous, non-government body, and it maintains it represents—through the people making it up—the public opinion in Romania.

VOA Meeting in Bucharest Covers Press Freedom

AU2903133890 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0853 GMT 29 Mar 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 29/03/1990—A meeting of listeners of the Washington Voice of America Radio Station with one of the 17 editors of its Romanian Service took place at the American Library in Bucharest.

In the show room of the library, Mr. Traian Valceanu made a general survey of the VOA activity, of the Romanian Service and of the American press.

Among other things, he approached the relations between politicians and the press, the mass media right to decide on the content of every broadcast, the right of the ethnic communities to have their own newspapers, the role of the press in the electorate's option, etc.

Paper Issues Statistics on Village Population

AU2903125590 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0932 GMT 29 Mar 90

[Text] The following figures for Romania's village population are supplied by population researcher Vladimir Trebici in the Bucharest Weekly "22" of the Group for Social Dialogue:

About 10 million people, or nearly 45 per cent of Romania's total population, live in the country's 2,360 communes (larger rural communities) and 13,000 villages. As far as the young and old versus adult population ratio, in the rural area it is higher than in towns, standing at 80-to-100. The women-to-men ratio for the age group between 20 and 34 years is 100-to-125 with its consequences on the "marital market". Another conclusion is that there are historical provinces of the country the population of which is very old.

However, the population expert shows that the village-to-town migration has slowed down and there are even signs of its reversal as a result, among other things, of the saturation of the secondary and tertiary sectors of towns and of the about one million jobless. Nevertheless, a sharp reversal of the trend can only be economically motivated to which a deep-seated love for land could add, which brings back to memory poet Lucian Blaga's assertion that "eternity was born in the village".

Liberal Party Publishes STEAUA DUNARII

AU2903183890 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1719 GMT 29 Mar 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 29/3/1990—The first issue of "STEAUA DUNARII" [DANUBE STAR], an opinion periodical of the National Liberal Party, has come out under the guidance of Paul Pacuraru. It was founded by Mihail Kogalniceanu in 1856. A newspaper "of attitude and progress," involved in the liberal economic and political thinking, "STEAUA DUNARII" is edited under the aegis of the Galati, Braila and Tulcea county organizations of the National Liberal Party, which intends to openly fight against blind ideologies, against mortified dogmas and generalized asthenia. The first issue contains, among other things, the political programme of this party, an interview granted by Radu Campeanu as well as news items on the current international situation.

Coman, Others To Stand Trial for Genocide

AU2903184090 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1747 GMT 29 Mar 90

["Former High Communist Dignitaries To Be Tried"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 29/3/1990—Under the 29 March, 1990 indictment of the Timisoara Military Prosecutor's Office, defendants Ion Coman, former member of the Executive Political Committee, former secretary of the CC [Central Committee] of the RCP [Romanian Communist Party], Ilie Matei, former member of the Standing Bureau of the Executive Political Committee, former secretary of the CC of the RCP, Cornel Pacoste, former alternate member of the Executive Political Committee of the CC of the RCP, former deputy prime minister, Radu Balan, former first secretary of the Timis County Party Committee, will be tried for committing genocide.

Over 16-20 December, 1989, to fulfil the criminal orders of dictator Nicolae Ceausescu and of his wife, the defendants, through the actions they took, organized and coordinated the brutal repression, by the force of arms, of the demonstrators that took part in the people's revolt in Timisoara. Consequently, numerous citizens who rose in fight for freedom, democracy and dignity, against oppression and the dictatorship were killed, wounded and molested.

Under the indictment, the Supreme Court of Justice—the Military Department—is to try the defendants.

Oradea Reformed Diocese Elects Tokes Bishop

AU2903200490 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1800 GMT 29 Mar 90

[Text] Pastor Laszlo Tokes was elected, with a large majority of the votes of the clergymen in the Oradea-based Reformed Diocese, as the new reformed bishop of that diocese, a position which had become vacant.

Radu Campeanu on Importance of Intelligentsia

AU3003084290 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0749 GMT 30 Mar 90

["The Question of the Intelligentsia Is of Outstanding Importance to Us"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES 30/3/1990—The question of the intelligentsia is of outstanding importance to us stated Mr Radu Campeanu, secretary-general of the National Liberal Party [NLP] in an interview with the liberal publication "STEAUA DUNARII" the first issue of which has been put out a few days ago. He recalled the scorn shown for the intelligentsia's work in Romania in the past and the overt discrediting of everyone who had the courage to voice the need for real professionalism."

As far as we are concerned, he said with reference to the NLP activity, we have already managed, in the spirit of our fine traditions to make up competent special teams and groups of analysts to study the concrete forms of application of the liberal principles in various spheres of scientific activity, research and production. We have re-established also the centre of liberal studies with well-defined departments of economics, industry and agriculture, history, sociology and politology. Sure, Mr Radu Campeanu showed, there are still many problems to be analyzed in Romania so as to really achieve a change in conception, in competence and, implicitly, of recognition of the value of the intellectual work.

'Cautious Optimism' on Moldavia Election

AU2803132990 Bucharest ADEVARUL in Romanian 14 Mar 90 p 4

[Vasile Oros dispatch from Kishinev: "Cautious Optimism"]

[Excerpts] For the second time in three weeks, the electorate of that part of Moldavia between the rivers Prut and Dniester was called to vote in what official sources qualified as "elections with alternatives." This is an original system, in which the multiparty criterion [the Communist Party is still the only admitted party] does not operate, but voters can choose between two or more candidates proposed by working collectives, public organizations, students, and local meetings for the 380 seats of the new Supreme Soviet of the Moldavian SSR and for the district, town, and village soviets. This second ballot confirms the popularity of the supporters of structural changes, something that is primarily reflected in the winning of a further 51 republican mandates by the Popular Front of Moldavia, thereby increasing the total to 111. Another significant fact is that representatives of the Romanian-speaking population amount to more than 60 percent of the future parliamentarians, a figure that is very close to the Front's expectations of two-thirds of the mandates. [passage omitted]

It is worth mentioning that in spite of the apparent multitude of individual platforms, the electoral confrontation was conducted, particularly at the republican level, around three basic orientations: the Popular Front, the Communist Party, and the "Internationalist Unity Movement-Yedinstvo" (or Interfront, as it is called due to its resemblance to similar organizations in other union republics), which mainly represents the Russian population.

The Popular Front's platform includes the following main points: the full sovereignty of the Moldavian SSR; redefining the republic's territory, by reincorporating North Bucovina, so as to prevent the Ukrainization of the population there; creation of a national army; the just assessment of the events of 1812, 1918, 1940, and later; the renewal of the union contract of 1922 concerning the creation of the USSR; the implementation of already adopted laws on recognition of the Moldavian language as the state language; the promotion of the national culture, and so forth. [passage omitted] "Interfront" represents the conservative forces, which deny the national rights of the Moldavians and try by all the means at their disposal to preserve the privileges the Russian population has been accustomed to since the days of the tsar, privileges that were later consolidated under Stalinism. [passage omitted]

Although the two-thirds majority anticipated by the progressive forces—a prerequisite necessary for amending the current Constitution and promoting the platform of these forces—is rather uncertain now, future prospects are looked upon with optimism. The majority obtained will facilitate the adoption of a number of laws that are vitally required for the promotion of national interests.

Ionescu on Ties With Moldavian SSR

AU2903201090 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1752 GMT 29 Mar 90

["The Prut Banks—The Relations Will Stay Good"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 29/3/1990—In an interview granted to a reporter of the Romanian news agency ROMPRES, Mr Cazimir Ionescu, vice-president of the Provisional National Unity Council [PNUC], referring inter alia to the strengthening of the links between Romania and the Moldavian Republic, said: "There is no problem now and I do not think there will be. Sure, the relations will stay good; the fine spiritual and cultural traditions and the new context will help their positive evolution, but in this respect as well, the same policy of non-nationalist approach should be adopted."

In answer to a ROMPRES editor's questions on tensions between Romanians and Hungarians in Transylvania, Mr Cazimir Ionescu, PNUC vice president said:

The solution is the good coexistence of the Hungarian minority and the Romanian population in that area for a very long time. History has proved that the Hungarian minority has lived together with the autochthonous Romanian population in the best conditions.

Such problems occurred only when interests alien to the population tried to incite it on national grounds. That is what happens now. Unfortunately, propaganda has been made by Hungarians outside Hungary since the time of Ceausescu, who misstated the question of Transylvania in a more or less veiled manner—trying to touch more or less directly on the idea of the borders, and certainly and especially of those with Hungary. The material evidence in that respect is a map of Hungary that I have before my eyes and that would include the whole of Croatia up to the Adriatic, Serbia and Transylvania.

Right now we have an inherited restlessness, adding to which are extremist groups some of which are known, others are less so. Manifestoes like those of the Iron Guard inciting to violence and exacerbated nationalism may find an echo on the Romanian side as well as on the Hungarian side. This adds to an atmosphere which is only natural in these post-revolutionary days when people emerging from a harsh dictatorial rule want to feel free and have the evidence that it is free. Both sides make claims. Under these circumstances the Hungarian minority claimed, with good reason, the use of the mother tongue in schools, universities and even local administration.

Precisely because they were regarded as rightful, the PNUC granted them very quickly, but against the setting that I was speaking about, the Romanian population,

sensitized and instigated, frowned on them in suspicion and took them for a threat to Transylvania's integrity.

My opinion is that there is in fact no threat to Transylvania, but only lack of political training in general, and of what democracy is really like, in particular. We are emerging from a period no outside information reached us. People do not know how the minorities question was solved in other countries. A policy of information on this subject will be required, so that people may understand that there where there are minorities—be they Hungarian, Serbian, German or others—there are basic rights that must be observed, the way they are in other countries. The Hungarian Democratic Union of Romania—UDMR—should be on the side of the government in that information campaign and re-state time and again that the settlement of these problems, and any of their claims is not aimed to create Hungarian autonomous enclaves or to raise the border question, these being the only two questions likely to stir suspicion among the Romanian population.

Minister Notes Growing Relations With EEC

AU2803204090 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1850 GMT 28 Mar 90

["Romanian in the World: Romania's Growing Relations With the Common Market"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 28/3/1990—Returned from Belgium where he had talks with personalities of the EEC Joint Commission, the European Parliament and with other officials, Mr Alexandru Margaritescu, Romanian minister of foreign trade, expressed his satisfaction at the results of that first round of interviews.

Romania requested a better access of some of its products to the markets of the member countries, both by means of liberalization and by increasing quota, the beginning, as soon as possible, of negotiations on the conclusion of the agreement on trade, economic and commercial cooperation between Romania and the EEC on new terms, support to the restructuring process in Romania by means of projects and aid and technical assistance programmes by the "Group of 24," improvement of customs preferences, a.o., [among others] demand which, if satisfied, would take Romania on a par with countries of central and Eastern Europe engaged in a process of democratization of their economic and social life.

As immediate achievements, mr minister of foreign trade referred [title as received] to the increase of quota of Romanian exports (electric measuring and control instruments, glass and chinaware, bearings, chemicals etc.) just as the readiness expressed by partners to examine the other requests as well. The EEC Commission will start negotiations with Romania so that the accord on trade, economic and commercial cooperation between the two parties be finalized by the end of the first semester of the ongoing year. In support of the process of restructuring the Romanian economy, the EEC decided to send a commission of experts in April to examine, together with their Romanian counterparts, projects proposed by the latter, which will be submitted for approval to the ministerial session of the "Group of 24" scheduled for 6 June. The EEC Commission will decide on Romania's request concerning the improvement of generalized customs preferences. The EEC Commission will examine, starting from favourable premises, the possibility of setting up an information bureau in Bucharest starting 1991.

Diplomatic Relations Established With South Korea

AU3003081890 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0700 GMT 30 Mar 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES 30/3/1990—Following the 30 March talks in Seoul, a protocol was agreed upon and signed on the establishment of diplomatic relations between Romania and the Republic of Korea.

The two sides agreed to release the following communique:

"Through their mutual wish to develop the relations of friendship and collaboration between the two countries on the principles of international law and the UN Charter, Romania and the Republic of Korea agreed to establish diplomatic relations at an embassy level, with due effect from the date of the signing of this protocol."

Croat LC Says LCY Session not 'Legitimate'

LD2903210990 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1601 GMT 29 Mar 90

[Text] Zagreb, 29 Mar (TANJUG)—"The scheduled session of the LCY [League of Communist of Yugoslavia] Central Committee cannot be considered legitimate since it is known that not all its constitutive parts will take part in its work. Insistence on convening it even though it has not been prepared, and the methods and actions being employed, in an attempt to revive our organization on its old foundations can only contribute to new divisions in the LCY and a deepening of the Yugoslav crisis. This is why we will not take part in the work of the session."

This is stressed in the stances published today of the Croat LC [League of Communist]-Party for Democratic Changes in connection with the convening of a session of the LCY Central Committee. The stances were adopted at the eighth session of the Croat LC Central Committee held on 26 March.

"The Croat LC-Party for Democratic Changes therefore proposes that preparations should be started for the convening of an initiative congress of a new grouping of Yugoslav left-wing forces. Its aim would be to definitively open up a new historical phase in the creation of a new political program, organizational and social identity for the Yugoslav democratic left. This modern program identity would be able to rely with complete confidence on the fundamental values of the Yugoslav socialist movement that have stood the test of time—direct democracy, self-determination including the right to secession, the co-existence of nations in a democratic Yugoslav federation, the self-management of producers, and an independent path of development of democratic socialism.

In this historical phase, the Yugoslav left can only affirm itself if it becomes a real exponent of an up-to-date program of socialist strategy of democratic social development. The preparations for such a process of renewal cannot be conducted by the present organs of the LCY, both because of their illegitimacy and because of their responsibility for the failure of the policy that they represent, and above all because their potential has also been exhausted.

We therefore propose, the statement says in conclusion, to all constitutive organizations of the LCY that they form a roundtable of the Yugoslav democratic left, composed of three representatives of every organization that wishes to take part in it and that it should coordinate the activity of all Yugoslav left-wing forces and make thorough preparations for a congress of their grouping."

In this document, the Croat LC also discusses at length the well-known stances of this forum on the 14th Extraordinary LCY Congress.

LCY CC Meets; Slovenes, Croats Stay Away

AU3003074090 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0200 GMT 30 Mar 90

[Text] The 31st session of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia [LCY] will be held today. This is the first session of the highest party body since the adjourned 14th Extraordinary LCY Congress.

A definite answer is expected to the question of whether the 14th Extraordinary Congress will be resumed, and when. The agenda has been defined in this context: the sense of determining the conditions for continuation of the 14th Extraordinary LCY Congress.

The Central Committee members will discuss the proposed platform drafted by the Central Committee Presidium in the meantime and on which the republican and provincial Leagues of Communists have expressed their opinions.

The session will not be attended by delegates from Slovenia and Croatia.

Plenum Opens Without Quorum

LD3003083590 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0749 GMT 30 Mar 90

[Text] Belgrade, 30 Mar (TANJUG)—The 31st session of the LCY [League of Communists of Yugoslavia] Central Committee began in Belgrade today some 45 minutes late. This is the first party plenum since the interruption of the 14th Extraordinary LCY Congress. At the moment it is still not certain whether the session will continue since there are 85 delegates present, and according to the Statute 110 are needed for a quorum.

Further on Quorum

AU3003084090 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0800 GMT 30 Mar 90

[Text] [Announcer] We will now go to our reporter Momcilo Boskovic, who is at the Sava center in Belgrade where the 31st session of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia [LCY] is being held:

[Boskovic] It is still not known whether the session of the LCY Central Committee which was scheduled to begin at 0900 [0700 GMT] will be held at all. The Presidium proposes that even though it has been truncated, the Central Committee should nevertheless work.

A total of 85 members are attending the session although at least 110 are needed according to the Statute. As expected, not one single member from the Central Committee of Slovenia has come and only one member from Croatia has arrived. Three members have come from Macedonia and 12 from Bosnia-Hercegovina.

Petar Skundric has just finished his speech explaining why the work of the Central Committee should continue.

At the moment, Nijaz Durakovic is at the rostrum. That is all for now from the SFRY Assembly [as heard].

Skundric Addresses Plenum

AU3003100090 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0804 GMT 30 Mar 90

[Speech by Petar Skundric, Presidium secretary of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia, addressing the Central Committee session in Belgrade on 30 March—recorded]

[Text] According to the figures available to us, the session is attended by 85 members of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia [LCY]. According to the Statute, 110 members are needed for the Central Committee to be able to make decisions. Therefore, we must agree on what to do.

We must bear in mind that the situation in the LCY and its organs is not normal, but that these are crucial moments. Why do we lack a quorum at such a moment? Allow me to inform you briefly of some facts and to make some proposals.

As you know, the League of Communists [LC] of Slovenia Conference, on behalf of the LC of Slovenia, has proclaimed that the LCY and its organs do not exist for them, and in keeping with this decision, the representatives of the League of Communists of Slovenia no longer participate in our work. Therefore, no member of the Central Committee from Slovenia is attending today, although invitations have been sent to them, as you have heard Comrade Pancevski tell you.

In the preparations for this session and for the resumption of the congress, we have held several consultative meetings in the Presidium and several Presidium sessions, and discussions were also held in the organs of the republican and provincial LC's. You have seen differences in the presented report concerning these questions: Should the congress resume or not and do the bodies of the LCY actually exist?

The majority supports the congress being resumed and the Central Committee and Presidium working on this in line with the conclusions of the second plenary session of the 14th Extraordinary Congress. However, the LC of Croatia Central Committee has taken a decisive against such a solution, which is almost identical to the stand of the bodies of the LC of Slovenia, which says that the LCY no longer exists and its bodies cannot work.

We have endeavored once again in the last few days to talk this through with the LC of Croatia bodies and to find at least a compromise joint solution. To this end, on Monday the 26th of this month, Ivan Brigic and I were in Zagreb where we had talks with a group of members of the Central Committee Presidium of the LC of Croatia and then attended a session of the LC of Croatia Central Committee at which these issues were discussed.

The LC of Croatia Central Committee stuck firmly to its stands concerning the congress and the LCY bodies and adopted the additional stand that members of the LCY of Croatia Central Committee should not attend this session of our Central Committee. Therefore, only one member from the LC of Croatia is present today.

It is simply astounding that the LC of Croatia Central Committee could make such a decision about the suspension of members of the LCY Central Committee who the LCY Congress had chosen from the LC of Croatia.

I must say that in preparing this session, a meeting was held with the presidents of the central committees of republican organizations, the provincial committees, and the Committee of the LCY Organization in the Yugoslav People's Army and that we reached agreement—at the proposal or with the consent of Comrade Racan—that this session of the Central Committee would be held on this day. I think that it is necessary for you to know this fact too.

During the talks in the LCY Central Committee Presidium, presidents of the central committees and representatives of the LC's of Bosnia-Hercegovina and Macedonia also stressed that members of the central committees of these republics will not participate this session unless the representatives of the LC of Croatia attend.

We have also been informed of the stands of the presidiums of the LC's of Bosnia-Hercegovina and Macedonia and their members of the LCY Central Committee. They met on 29 March in connection with the stances of the LC of Croatia Central Committee. These two leaderships are against this session of the LCY Central Committee and against this agenda, or rather they proposed that the session should not be held. They are also against the session being public, and even against it being considered a regular session if it were held. In addition they demand the resignation of the Presidium, and the members of the LCY Central Committee in Macedonia also demand the resignation of the LCY Central Committee.

They also propose that a working group be set up instead of the bodies of the LCY, and that consensus be applied in all decisions at the session today. In essence, these two leaderships are also in favor of abolishing the LCY and its bodies, and of seeing afterward what is to be set up. Obviously for this reason, the majority of the Central Committee members from these republics are also absent now. From Bosnia-Hercegovina, 12 members are present, and from Macedonia, only three members, according to the figures that I have obtained.

In connection with these proposals by the leaderships of the LC of Bosnia-Hercegovina and the LC of Macedonia, the LCY Central Committee Presidium at its session on 29 March discussed the matter and tried to arrive at a proposal to be presented to the Central Committee today. With a majority of votes, it rejected the proposals cited above. An obvious division along the lines of republics and provinces occurred in the Presidium:

Members of the presidiums from the LC of Bosnia-Hercegovina and the LC of Croatia, and partly from the LC of Macedonia, were against the session today and in favor of the resignation of the Presidium and all the other proposals made by the LC of Bosnia-Hercegovina and the LC of Macedonia.

I propose that in such a situation we decide on the only possible way: that we continue the work of the LCY Central Committee and its Presidium with the membership that we have, proceeding in this respect from the conclusions of the second plenary session of the 14th Extraordinary Congress, which is the most decisive for us. This congress charged the LCY bodies with the task of preparing the resumption of the congress. Anyhow, one can see from the reaction so far that a majority of the members and organizations of the LCY are in favor. As you know, and you have been briefed, five parts of the LCY are in favor of a continuation of the congress, or rather in favor of holding a third plenary session of the 14th Extraordinary Congress; two organizations—Bosnia-Hercegovina and Macedonia—are both in favor of a continuation and in favor of a new congress, and the comrades from Croatia are exclusively in favor of holding a new congress.

The first and basic proposal is that the Central Committee today should work in its truncated form, that this work should serve exclusively the preparations for the continuation of the 14th Extraordinary Congress, and that all the members of the Central Committee and the Presidium who accept this approach should involve themselves to this end.

Anyhow, in conformity with such an approach, we will not adopt any great decisions at the session today and in our further work. We only have to prepare the proposals for a continuation of the congress, or rather we should set the date for the convening the third plenary session of the 14th Extraordinary Congress.

Secondly, the question arises of how much our work conforms to the Statute. In fact this question is chiefly posed and will be posed by those who have excluded themselves and who have proclaimed their LC organizations to be separate and the LCY to be dead. They even enjoy doing this, as if a great deed has been performed and a tyrant has been liquidated.

Above all: Our Statute does not envision such a situation at all. Solutions cannot be derived from it directly by any interpretation whatever. It is obvious that such a thing has never crossed anybody's mind. In addition, we have a rigid Statute that is essentially normative, and that according to stands, and in preparations, for the congress must be quickly changed and made more flexible. We need the statute of a political party [stranka] and not that of a state party.

However, the question arises of whether we want to now allow ourselves—caught in a historical and fateful situation for the LCY—to be liquidated by those who were the first to violate and abandon the Statute and regulate their own behavior by themselves regardless of it. We must resolve this question as a political question above all.

Therefore, I am proposing that, first, in this unprecedented situation we apply the spirit of our Statute, as well as all norms that it is possible to apply. Second, that these be our temporary decisions that will be endorsed at the third plenary session of the 14th Extraordinary LCY Congress and that new adequate statutory norms be adopted at this third plenary session. Third, that in line with this, we treat the quorum of this Central Committee session differently than was done in some rigid and limited interpretations when we were looking for a solution after the self-expulsion of the organization of the LC of Slovenia, that in fact we consider that the whole membership has been reduced by 20 members, which is the number in the organization of the LC of Slovenia. This should also apply to the members from the LC of Croatia but, of course, only temporarily for this session.

As regards individual members of the LC of Croatia who are present at the session, they are, of course, full members of the Central Committee and they are part of the quorum of this session.

I am proposing that we state that a number of members of the Central Committee of the LCY are, for different and primarily objective reasons, no longer in the Central Committee. This involves a total of three members. As you know, in this period between two congresses, there have been a total of 52 changes in the composition of the Central Committee. In this situation, they also could not be counted toward the membership figure from which a quorum is deduced, for we have been preparing the congress and its conclusion for too long a time, while matters are changing quickly. It would not be logical for us to prevent our own work in this way.

I repeat that these are provisional decisions that will be submitted for confirmation when the work of the 14th Extraordinary Congress is resumed. It should perhaps be mentioned that this constitutes no precedent in the practice of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia or the LCY. Even much worse similar situations occurred in the past and the solutions were similar, although this happened under completely different social, political, and historical circumstances. In this situation, this is the only way to maintain the continuity of the LCY on behalf of the majority of the members and organizations.

If we part company today and accept the thesis that a session cannot be held, there will be no LCY Central Committee Presidium, no resumption of the Congress, and no LCY.

Bosnia-Hercegovina Walks Out

LD3003123890 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1153 GMT 30 Mar 90

[Text] Belgrade, 30 Mar (TANJUG)—All LCY Central Committee members from the Bosnia-Hercegovina League of Communists [LC] have walked out from today's plenum.

Dragutin Kosovac explained: We agreed that this is to be a consultative working meeting, but concrete decisions and conclusions are already being proposed. These proposals would be adopted without three LCY parts. The LC members from Bosnia-Hercegovina are not empowered to take part in such work. We are informing you that we can no longer take part in this meeting, Kosovac said.

Kosovac took the floor after Momir Bilatovoc, who proposed several conclusions of today's consultative working meeting.

Plenum Changes to Consultations

AU3003153190 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 30 Mar 90

[Text] Instead of the announced session of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia [LCY], the meeting taking place in Belgrade is a working and consultative meeting of Central Committee members. Stances on the continuation of the 14th LCY Congress should have been adopted, but, just as they had said, Central Committee members from Slovenia and Croatia have not come, only three members from Macedonia have come, and members from Bosnia-Hercegovina left the SFRY Assembly building during the session. This is why one should remember today's date, 30 March 1990, at least as far as LCY history is concerned. Let us hear our correspondent Momcilo Boskovic:

[Boskovic] The session of the LCY Central Committee is under way. Milomir Minic is on the rostrum at the moment. The session is being held despite the absence of Central Committee members from Slovenia and Croatia—only one member has come from Croatia—and despite the fact that Central Committee members from Bosnia-Hercegovina and Macedonia later walked out, too.

The Central Committee plenum should provide an answer to the question of whether one should continue the 14th Extraordinary Congress, and if so, when. As expected, opinions were divided. The majority of members want the congress to continue and to do so as soon as possible, as early as the end of next month. A smaller number of members want a new congress to be convened. Since there was no quorum even before Central Committee members from Macedonia and Bosnia-Hercegovina walked out—there were 87 participants in all—the plenum in fact has a consultative and working function. Although it is not complete, the highest meeting of the Yugoslav Communists is still important when one considers that the Central Committee has not met since the adjournment of the 14th Extraordinary Congress, almost two and half months ago.

One could hear some useful proposals, remarks, and suggestions about what one is to do about the transformation of the League of Communists and its further activities. The 2 million-strong party membership and all citizens are following the work of the plenum and its assessments.

This was all from the SFRY Assembly building.

Macedonia LC Says LCY CC Session 'Futile'

LD3003132490 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1135 GMT 30 Mar 90

[Text] Skopje, 30 Mar (TANJUG)—Today's session of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia [LCY] Central Committee is not in accordance with the Statute, because in the absence of two republican organizations, the Slovene League of Communists [LC] and the Croat LC, it cannot adopt valid decisions and that is why the members of the LCY Central Committee from the Macedonian LC are also not taking part in its work.

This was stated at a news conference today in the Macedonian LC-Party for Democratic Transformation Central Committee by its president, Petar Gosev, who also informed journalists of the other reasons why Macedonian Communists consider this session "futile."

Further From Gosev

LD3003133290 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1147 GMT 30 Mar 90

[Text] Skopje, 30 Mar (TANJUG)—The League of Communists of Yugoslavia [LCY] Central Committee Presidium, or what is left of it, should tender its resignation, not in order to establish its accountability so much as to transfer the blame for the present situation in the LCY to those republican leaderships which, with their disagreements, are hampering the work of the Presidium and the Central Committee.

This was the reply of Petar Gosev, president of the Macedonian League of Communists [LC]-Party for Democratic Transformation, at today's news conference to a journalist's question on whether the members of the LCY Central Committee Presidium for Macedonia have the support of their grass roots. Gosev stressed that such a reduced and restricted Presidium cannot carry out its work, and its members have neither collective nor individual respect among the membership and elsewhere. Gosev stressed that the members of the LCY Central Committee Presidium from the Macedonian LC differ in some respects on the stances of the Macedonian LC, which does not mean that they are no longer its members.

Slovene Republic's Presidency Report

LD2903215890 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1435 GMT 29 Mar 90

[Excerpts] Ljubljana, 29 Mar (TANJUG)—At the last joint session in this mandate, Slovene Assembly delegates listened to a report about the work of the Slovene Republic Presidency during the past two years, presented by President of the Presidency Janez Stanovnik. The agenda was expanded at the session with information about a group working on a comprehensive study of circumstances and consequences of the trial of the four at the Ljubljana military court.

Reviewing the past mandate of the Slovene Republic Presidency, Janez Stanovnik said that "this is a report about clearing the path toward democracy as the guarantee for human rights, dignity and sovereignty of the Slovene people and state." Listing accumulated problems—starting from economic all the way to political and national—Stanovnik judged that, parallel with these developments, the awareness was growing that a new agreement about conditions for life together in Yugoslavia was necessary. In the course of two years, significant improvement in the understanding of democratic pluralism has been achieved, according to him. We are facing the historic challenge of achieving peacefully the transition into democracy, the turnabout in economic order and shaping up life together between nations, and, above all, achieving tolerance and mutual respect within Slovene society and among the Slovene people.

Stanovnik emphasized in particular that the Slovene republic Presidency pressed for a resolute realization of its political goals, while acknowledging the existing constitutional order and the situation in Yugoslavia. Although on several occasions it clashed with the public and the SFRY Presidency, it presevered in the standpoint that justified demands should be resolved through changes and not through violation of the legal system.

Talking about the amendments to the Slovene Constitution, Stanovnik stressed that thereby the Slovene nation has become a political nation and has affirmed itself as a sovereign nation. "Today we have a resolute political will and moral strength to negotiate on equal footing about the future shape of our relations with other nations in Yugoslavia," he said and went on to add that "we should be aware that we could make such a decisive step primarily because we achieved a high degree of the will to statehood." This unity, however, does not negate different interests and political programs, but is an awareness that special interests should be overcome at the moment of a decisive battle for national interests. "The reply of that part of Yugoslavia holding that the revival of homogenistic predominance is its historical right was brutal," Stanovnik continues. "Starting from the demand for 'the meeting of truth,' blockades of all relations with Slovenia, all the way to the accusations of high treason, separatism, and even open threats of military intervention and the use of arms. With all this they tried to humiliate and devalue the will of the Slovene people," Stanovnik said, "Which inevitably gave rise to the discussion about relations within the federation."

"Slovenia joined freely and voluntarily the AVNOJ [Antifascist Council of the National Liberation of Yugoslavia] Yugoslav federation and, in doing so, it co-created the federation," Stanovnik said and added that "daily insults, unprecedented allegations, organized economic pressure and threats to use arms cause doubts about a possibility for a further life together in such a Yugoslavia."

The demand for a confederal setup, put forward by programs of all political parties in Slovenia, according to Stanovnik, is the expression of the troubles in which we found ourselves. We hope that senseless passions in Yugoslavia will slowly calm down. The Republic of Slovenia wants to have a status in Yugoslavia that would ensure its efficent development and democratic relations, Stanovnik said.

The other republics should also have this status. This demand is not separatist, Stanovnik stressed; on the contrary, it is founded on our wish to maintain the Yugoslav community on realistic foundations.

Speaking about Slovenia's and Yugoslavia's international and legal status, Stnovnik said that the aspects of security, defense, economy and ethnical structure make Yugoslavia our natural community. Nonetheless, he stressed, the policy that has been prevailing in Yugoslavia, particularly recently, does not inspire trust. "Despite that, we do not dispair over Yugoslavia," Stanovnik said. The political developments in Serbia of the past two years have convinced us that the preservation of formal federal equality is impossible in a situation whereby the majority nationality grasps every opportunity to exploit this equality to impose its own will. To preserve and resolve this equality to impose its own will. To preserve and resolve the idea of Yugoslavia, one should consolidate the sovereign status of each Yugoslav nation and republic so as to reach a new agreement on our shared life.

Janez Stanovnik paid particular attention to the issues of defense and the Yugoslav Peoples' Army, as he said of the latter that the Army, as the shared armed force of the Yugoslav nations and nationalities, should not mean a transnational institution. Society has democratized and renounced the LC's [League of Communists] monopolistic role whereas, in Stanovnik's words, as far as this aspect is concerned, the Army has remained the unchanged "guardian of the revolution," led by the party rather than by the assembly. The Yugoslav Peoples' Army did not understand that its role was one of defending only the independence of all Yugoslavia's peoples, so it has come to see itself in the role of Yugoslavia's transrepublican integrative force. It failed to comprehend that sovereign nations, rather than some inherent right of a federation made up of its subordinated members, empowered it to carry out its joint

defense task. This is why stressing republican sovereignty has been perceived as nationalism, separatism and counterrevolution.

The trial of the Ljubljana Four also further distorted this conflict, as it evolved into an elaborate accusation of alleged "attack" on the Yugoslav Peoples' Army, Stanovnik added, and recently relations with the Army have become more complicated regarding its involvement in Kosovo. We believe that the primary task of the Yugoslav Peoples' Army is to prevent potential agression from the outside, while its task in the internal sphere is to protect peace, but it certainly must not become a means of repression. [passage omitted]

This is a time, Republican Assembly President Miran Potrc said, when the crisis in Kosovo is assuming ever more dangerous proportions, which we do not want and have not caused, but to which we are fatefully linked in many aspects when significant decisions about Yugoslavia's future are made. Slovenia's commitment to its confederal status is clear—that is, to Slovenia's sovereignty within Yugoslavia, something that is at odds with the federal bodies' proposals for granting themselves greater powers and which we oppose resolutely, Potrc stressed.

We were not led astray by the assessments about our illegitimate moves, we did not fear any pressures or threats from Yugoslavia, Miran Potrc said. We have developed and enriched the democratic methods of our own work and provided for democracy in society. We have also opened up the viability of radical reforms and we have already started implementing some of them. [passage omitted]

Stanovnik's Speech

AU2903184190 Ljubljana Domestic Service in Slovene 1430 GMT 29 Mar 90

[Alenka Trlep and Matjaz Albreht report on the session of the Slovene Assembly on 29 March]

[Text] A joint session of the chambers of the Slovene Assembly adopted a report on the work of the Presidency of Slovenia during its term of office, acquainted itself with the work of the group investigating the four [Jansa, Borstner, Zavrl, and Tasic], and debated whether to discuss the implementation of the resolution on military recruits again.

Janez Stanovnik then made his concluding speech at the end of his term of office. First he spoke about the conditions under which the Presidency worked in the past two years: two consecutive programs of economic reform—by Mikulic and Markovic—the aggravated situation in Kosovo, the trial of the four in which problems of the rule of law, the use of Slovene, and controversies with the Yugoslav People's Army leadership were manifested, and the aggravated relations with Serbia. However, Stanovnik said, in these two years we achieved a significant development of democratic pluralism, and the monopoly of the party was also abandoned.

Stanovnik said that the Presidency considered it its duty to make a decisive step toward civil pacification and reconciliation. This step is only a condition for the reconciliation for the time being, and not the reconciliation as such. It is the duty of the state to normalize relations with all its citizens in the world, to create conditions for repairing the injustices done, and to make possible an objective establishment of the facts, although these may be unpleasant for some people.

Stanovnik then spoke about the sovereignty of the Slovene state. He recalled the adoption of the constitutional amendments. This step, Stanovnik said, which was adopted under intolerable pressure, possesses a political significance exceeding its significance under constitutional law. We now possess a resolute political will and moral strength to negotiate about the future system on an equal basis.

[Begin Stanovnik recording] Slovenia joined the AVNOJ [Anti-Fascist Council of National Liberation of Yugoslavia] Yugoslav federation freely and voluntarily and thus participated in its creation. Daily insults, unheard-of insinuations, organized economic pressure, and even armed threats very understandably cause doubts in the possibility of continued life together in such a Yugoslavia.

The unilateral steps and pressure, trampling underfoot the constitutional foundations of Yugoslavia, have in all seriousness posed the question of a new historical agreement on how to join and to live together in Yugoslavia.

The demand for a confederal system that all the political parties in the republic have now put in their programs is an expression of the stressful situation in which we have landed. It is an expression of the hope that the incomprehensible passions in Yugoslavia will eventually die down. The Republic of Slovenia wants a position in Yugoslavia that will enable efficient development and democratic relations. Other republics should have the same position.

This demand is not separatist, but on the contrary, it is based on the wish to preserve the unity of the Yugoslav community on realistic foundations. [end recording]

Stanovnik also spoke about problems of defense. Society has become democratic in the past two years, and has renounced the monopoly of the party, but in this respect the Army has remained an unchanged protector of the revolution lead by the party and not the assemblies. Conflicts have become inevitable.

[Begin Stanovnik recording] The relations with the Yugoslav People's Army have recently become more complicated, also in connection with the involvement of the Army in Kosovo. We are convinced that the first task of the Yugoslav People's Army is to prevent external danger and to protect against possible foreign aggression.

In the internal field, its task is to protect peace. On no account must it become a means of repression. [end recording]

In his closing speech to the assembly, Stanovnik also spoke about the economic reform and added:

[Begin Stanovnik recording] Nevertheless, the crisis continues. Unfortunately we cannot measure our achievements in statistical terms. However, we have achieved something that is statistically immeasurable: The Slovene people have regained their confidence, dignity, and faith in their future. [end recording]

Also during the session, the delegates adopted a report by Aleksander Ravnikar, president of the group of delegates comprehensively examining the circumstances and consequences of the trial of the four in Ljubljana. Because of some open questions, the group has not yet drafted its concluding report. In his report, Ravnikar therefore restricted himself to explaining the work of the group so far and expressed his hope that the report may be finished in April.

In the discussion that followed, Lea Orazen expressed her disappointment because forces in the background, as she put it, have succeeded in hampering the work of the group to such an extent that it has failed to draft its concluding report. She proposed that the group should draft a comprehensive report for the next session of the Assembly. The proposal was adopted by the delegates.

As the last point on the agenda, adopted at the suggestion of Marko Gorsic, the Assembly should have discussed the realization of the Assembly resolutions on military recruits. The presidents of the three chambers having explained that the delegates had decided on this subject—the Sociopolitical Chamber did not adopt the conclusion of the inter-chamber group—the delegates nevertheless decided not to discuss this point again.

Slovene Party Proposes Demilitarization

LD2903201290 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1907 GMT 28 Mar 90

[Text] Ljubljana, 28 Mar (TANJUG)—The ZSMS [former initials of the Socialist Youth Federation of Slovenia]-Liberal Party of Slovenia met in the Cankar Center this evening. They presented to a small audience a plan for the demilitarization of Slovenia as an aim that should be achieved step by step over a transitional period, but not longer than five years. The plan belongs in the context of current orientations on Slovenia either as an independent sovereign state within a Yugoslav confederation, or outside of it. It is suggested tha the newly elected Slovene parliament should decide on demilitarization and on the withdrawal of the Yugoslav People's Army from the territory of Slovenia. However, there are also those who think that Slovenia should firstly form its own army and only then, as a completely sovereign and independent state, decide on its disbandment.

In the transitional period, it is suggested that a peace ministry be founded, and all committees of all-people's defense and social self-protection be abolished. The principle should be observed that Republic of Slovenia citizens should do their military service in the territory of Slovenia, and that the command language should be Slovene, or Italian and Hungarian in the territories of the national minorities.

Joze Skolc, ZSMS-Liberal Party of Slovenia chairman, stated this evening that this plan is seen by many as utopian, but he pointed out that not so long ago, many other initiatives of ZSMS were proclaimed as such, although today they are a reality.

Election Meetings Continue in Slovenia

AU3003084590 Ljubljana DELO in Slovene 26 Mar 90 pp 1,3

[Veso Stojanov report: "Election Campaign Gaining Momentum"]

[Excerpts] Ljubljana, 25 Mar— Judging by the multitude of election meetings, speeches, roundtable discussions, and similar gatherings organized over the weekend by Slovene parties and presidential candidates, the election campaign in Slovenia has reached its culmination two weeks before the beginning of the elections in Slovenia. On the basis of reports received from our Slovene correspondents, we may conclude that the socialists and the democratic reformers directed their election activities to the countryside, while Demos drew Slovenes from beyond the borders into the election campaign. The Kramberger also was not quiet.

In a discussion in Kranj, organized by Demos-United Opposition, some representatives of the Slovene organizations in Italy and Austria expressed their satisfaction at the development of democracy in Slovenia. At the same time, they thought that a part of the Slovene minority beyond the borders has been nationally underprivileged, above all, because of their political affiliation. This was a consequence of the one-party rule in the kindred state, which forced its ideology on the Slovenes in Italy and Austria. Karel Smolle [Austrian National Assembly deputy] said something similar at the 24 March election meeting of the Christian Democrats in Krsko, which was also attended by Jean-Marie Daillet, ranc Miklavcic, and Lojze Peterle. Smolle especially stressed that the Carinthian Slovenes had until now been primarily an object of manipulation by the Yugoslav politics of the moment. It was stressed at the gathering that the Slovene Christian Democrats can lead Slovenia into Europe more quickly through cooperation with international organizations.

Demos presidential candidate Joze Pucnik was on an election tour of Carinthia this weekend. He spoke at meetings in Radlje, Ravne, and Dravograd. He particularly stressed the necessity of changes in the political system of Slovenia and in its position in Yugoslavia. He announced that a referendum should be held in Slovenia

by the end of July, at which a new Slovene Constitution would be adopted ensuring a confederal position of Slovenia in Yugoslavia.

The LCS [former initials of the League of Communists of Slovenia]-Party of Democratic Reform had its main election meeting this weekend at the Geoss enterprise in Spodnja Slivna, in the Litija Commune. Contacts were established there with similar meetings of the party in Sezana, Bela Krajina, and Prekmurje. Ciril Ribicic, the leading candidate on the list for the Sociopolitical Chamber and party president, in his speech rebuked the opposition that, he said, wishes to shift all the bad things on to the Communists and claim all the good things for itself.

"We are supposed to answer for all the sins of the party, as old as they may be, committed at a time when the majority of the present leadership of the Party of Democratic Reform were only born or were growing up. It is even more difficult to excuse this approach if it is promoted by people who at that time were members of the party but now advocate extremely conservative right-wing political views. Insulting insinuations and uncultured attacks on political competitors are an expression of immaturity and of lack of confidence in one's own programs and candidates," Ciril Ribicic said.

Milan Kucan, their candidate for president, toured Prekmurje, stopping in Lendava, Murska Sobota, Salovci, and Rogasevci. To many questions about confederation or secession of Slovenia, Kucan said that the best solution is to renew the relations among the peoples of Yugoslavia and thus create a democratic and modern federation, but until this can be achieved, one should demand a confederal position for Slovenia. [passage omitted]

A very interesting discussion was organized by Demos in Kranj, and numerous representatives of Slovene organizations from across the border participated. Sergij Pahor of Trieste said that the Slovenes in Italy have not only been exposed to a constant assimilation pressure by the majority people, but also became victims of the ideological war after the end of World War II. Marij Maver explained that two camps were created among them. Those who did not support the Yugoslav vision of the world revolution and who placed national values above any ideology remained without support from their kindred country. The situation was similar regarding the Carinthian Slovenes. As Reginald Vospernik, director of the Slovene Grammar School of Klagenfurt said, they received orders from Ljubljana for a long time on how they should work politically. Marjan Sturm, secretary of the Federation of Slovene Organizations in Klagenfurt, also said that he was not satisfied with the attitude of the kin state toward the minority in Austria. The Slovene Government made too many mistakes.

During his election tour in Ravne, Carinthia, Joze Pucnik, Demos-United Opposition presidential candidate, said that the Slovenes missed their chance in 1918 and in 1943-45. He added that the opportunity of 1990 will certainly not be allowed to slip from their hands. He said that the Slovene Communists would have done well had they withdrawn into opposition last year; one could interpret such a gesture as a form of reconciliation with the past. In Radlje, Pucnik said that under his leadership, the state would cost only a third of the present amount, and he spoke against trials for crimes committed after the war. He thus refuted the reproaches that Demos wants revenge.

In Lendava, Milan Kucan said among other things that the LCS-Party of Democratic Reform is not a new party that should enroll its members anew, but, after it changed its name and redirected its program, every member had the chance of leaving it. Members of the organization are still leaving, but I can say to the credit of our party that the majority of the activists in other parties are our former members, which means that we were a good organization and that we have trained many new activists, who now simply act on a different program and political foundation," Milan Kucan said.

Kosovo SAWP Notes Emigration Statistics

LD2903201190 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1346 GMT 29 Mar 90

[Summary] Pristina, 29 Mar (TANJUG)—The Kosovo Socialist Alliance Working People Provincial Conference Presidium today noted that the realization of the Yugoslav Program on Kosovo failed to give the expected results because the emigration of Serbs and Montenegrins from this province is continuing, while the number of those who return is symbolic. Last year 1,696 Serbs and Montenegrins emigrated from Kosovo—among whom were 159 Serbian and Montenegrin families—and also 251 Croats. In the same period, 670 Serbs and Montenegrins returned to the province, and about 100 of these settled there for the first time. The main reason for the emigration is the increasingly aggressive behavior of Albanian nationalists and separatists that is manifested in various forms—armed riots, terrorism, demonstrations, etc.

7 Arrested, Weapons Found in Podujevo

AU2903202490 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 29 Mar 90

[Text] [Announcer] The Provincial Committee Presidium of the Socialist Alliance of Kosovo has held a session in Pristina discussing the Yugoslav program on Kosovo. Here is a report by Nebojsa Spajic:

[Spajic] The Yugoslav program on Kosovo is still not being implemented. Only Serbia is making an effort about it. The emigration of Serbs and Montenegrins is continuing. The number of people who have emigrated is at least five times bigger than the number of people who returned. There were some other equally pessimistic statements made at the session, such as the one by

Zivorad Igic, president of the Socialist Alliance Provincial Conference, who said that the latest events brought new unrest among the Slavic population because of which several thousand people, particularly women and children, have fled from Kosovo. He said that the situation in Kosovo is extremely complex and that the interethnic relations are extremely tense.

However, despite all those grave statements, some optimism was noticed at the session. Conviction was expressed that there is a change for the better. During last year, 670 people came to Kosovo, 100 of whom are living in the southern province for the first time.

Above all, the optimism was based on the expectation that the authorities will make an unhindered functioning of the law-governed state possible in this region. The events of today confirm this expectation. Not only was the day perfectly calm, but a special unit of the Serbian Internal Affairs Secretariat carried out a successful action in Podujevo. Seven people were arrested there under suspicion of performing a hostile activity. Found on them were cold-steel weapons and firearms, must probably smuggled; propaganda material; and even uniforms for special unit members, obviously prepared as coverup.

Montenegrin Presidium Assails Poisoning 'Fraud'

LD2903164590 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1109 GMT 29 Mar 90

[Text] Titograd, 29 Mar (TANJUG)—The separatist fraud concerning the simulated mass poisoning of young people, organized by Albanian nationalists and separatists, is a part of the arsenal of the most unscrupulous means of sabotage, terrorism, and attempts to cause civil war. This insane action inflicted the largest damage precisely on Albanians themselves, The Montenegrin Socialist Alliance of Working People [SAWP] republican conference Presidium stresses in its reaction to the farce of "single-nation poisoning" in Kosovo. It also calls on all forces in the country to work to halt separatist insanity and establish peace in the province.

Shameless moral deceit on "poisoning" is lifted out from the scenario of open resistance to the normalization of the situation in Kosovo. The Albanian nationality has thus been brought into disrepute. Albanian people were used as means to achieve dirty political goals, the Montenegrin SAWP republican conference Presidium stresses.

Sarajevo Radio, TV Policy on Elections

LD2903193290 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1307 GMT 29 Mar 90

[Text] Sarajevo, 29 Mar (TANJUG)—In the course of an election campaign, Sarajevo radio and television will bear in mind that the Socialist Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina is a multinational community and will ensure that it acts as an independent voice of the citizens. This is envisioned in a document outlining program policy rules for Sarajevo television during election campaigns in multiparty elections.

In its programs, Sarajevo radio and television will provide all legalized political organizations taking part in elections with an opportunity to present their election platforms and will broadcast timely and comprehensive reports on them. Sarajevo radio and television promises that 48 hours before the elections, and on election day, it will not broadcast material containing political messages of political parties or their candidates. During the 24-hour period before the elections, no opinion poll results concerning the elections will be broadcast.

Broadcast on Independent Democracy Party

LD2903194390

[Editorial Report] Zagreb Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian at 1505 GMT on 29 March carries a poorly received 10-minute broadcast on the Party of Independent Democracy [Stranka Nezavisne Demokratije]. The radio announcer introduces party Chairman Radivoje Radivoj and Secretary Milan Orlovic. It is stated that the party headquarters are in Rijeka.

The party chairman notes that the party was founded on 8 March this year. The party, which is active in the Croat coastal area and the Gorski Kotar area, has Italians among its members. It is "above narrow national preoccupations" and wants Croatia to become a 13th member of the united European Community. It does not want Croatia to remain a part of Yugoslavia "at any cost."

The party secretary dwells on the need for equality of all forms of ownership. The party advocates better road and rail links between Rijeka and the rest of Croatia. It urges better use of marine resources. It advocates improvement in agriculture, forestry, and the shipbuilding industry.

Croat Internal Affairs Secretariat on Benkovac

LD2903175890 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1215 GMT 29 Mar 90

[Summary] Zagreb, 29 Mar (TANJUG)—A news conference was held in the Croat Internal Affairs Secretariat today at which the majority of questions and statements referred to the incident in Benkovac. In addition to now-familiar detals, Ivan Sokar, an undersecretary in the republic's Internal Affairs Secretariat, said that an earlier report that investigation proceedings had been set in motion against Zeljko Kucic and Zvonimir Vrkic, attendants at the Benkovac meeting of the Croat Democratic Community, was incorrect.

In reference to a fire at the Croat Democratic Community's headquarters, the Croat Internal Affairs Secretariat representatives said that despite the measures undertaken so far, the perpetrators had not been found yet.

"In conclusion, Franciska Jurak, an undersecretary in the republic's Internal Affairs Secretariat, cited details about the professional and national structure of the Croat Internal Affairs Secretariat. Out of the total work force, 51 percent are Croats, 30 percent Serbs, and 15 percent declare themselves as Yugoslavs. The composition of the leading cadres is as follows: 63 percent Croats, 32 percent Serbs, and four percent Yugoslavs.

"The following officials of the Croat Internal Affairs Secretariat also took part in the news conference: Milan Brezak, an undersecretary; Assistant Internal Affairs Secretary Jovica Cuk; and Stanko Paraminski, public security department chief."

Removal of Political Violence Advocated

AU2903131590 Zagreb VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 20 Mar 90 p 1

[Radovan Stipetic report: "Pistol"]

[Text] The incident on 16 March in Benkovac requires urgent comment, especially because we have waited for an unacceptably long time for an official statement which should give important arguments—if not the unambiguous facts—for an assessment on what happened. Despite the usual silence of those who would have or have to have something to say, the event has had such a reaction in the public that there is no politically literate citizen in Croatia who does not know that the preelection meeting of the Croatian Democratic Community in Benkovac, a small Bukovica town, was interrupted and how it was interrupted, thereby geting the chance to enter political legend and mythology.

Let us say immediately that the Benkovac incident is perhaps the final warning—to all and sundry!—that violence must be removed from politics if we do not want individual cases to develop into everyday practice, thus opening the way to civil war and everything that follows, as has been confirmed by numerous examples that are close and not so close to home. We are not stating that anyone in this country possesses a high school diploma in democracy to be used in persuading people instead of beating or shooting them: All the more necessary is an agreement between all political factors before the upcoming elections—no matter how divided and even belligerent they are—that they will not resort to violence and, moreover, that they will not do anything that would in any way encourage it. This condition could be useful to everyone, and anyone who begins to think with a cool head will have to reach such a conclusion.

One should, therefore, point out some circumstances that indicate a dangerous toying with the possibility of civil war. There is very little leeway between this and the assertion that even the strategy of provoking a general massacre as a "method of achieving aims" is on the table, however much it looked as if this assumption is encroaching on the realm of political fiction.

Let us recall that in this country the shouts of "we will kill Vlasi" have been echoing unpunished for a long time already and that the announcement of his arrest, as an introduction to the obviously fixed political trial, came from the highest point of one political power which has already shown numerous times that it does not care how it achieves its aims, whether legally or not, or within institutions or not. Let us recall that before the failed "meeting of truth" in Ljubljana, the claim could be heard that blood would be shed if necessary. Let us recall that the tumult of insults at the expense of the participants in a legal meeting of a legal party in Benkovac already had some kind of dress rehearsal at Petrova Gora.

It is now being shown how wise the Slovene decision was to ban a provocative meeting, and how unwise the expectation was that these same troublemakers would behave more politely at Petrova Gora and that their leaders in legal centers of power would accept naive calls to restrain the troublemakers.

In this respect, let us stress, it is not important whether this troublemaker in Benkovac pointed a real or plastic gun at Dr. Tudjman: It is important where this crazy act can lead. What is also crazy is the publicly stated claim that Tudjman's people "provoked" this: Does this mean the legalization of the claim that the victim (however much he "provoked") can be proclaimed guilty and a potential or actual culprit can be pardoned because they shot impulsively? And Punisa Racic [assassin of Croat opposition leader Stjepan Radic in 1928] "shot impulsively" did he not?

Army Comments on Attacks, Roman Silverware

AU3003100590 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 22 Mar 90 p 4

[V.K. and V.I. report: "Guard Fired in the Air"]

[Text] Belgrade—Between 1 January and 19 March of this year, there were two attacks on the members of the Yugoslav People's Army [YPA] and six attacks on the military facilities in Kosovo. The most serious attack happened in Pec on 27 January when a group of demonstrators attacked a guardsman, an ethnic Albanian, trying to force their way into the YPA Hall. The guardsman reacted very resolutely by firing several shots in the air because the separatists and angry mob had not observed his warning. After that they retreated immediately. Otherwise, the majority of other cases mainly amounted to small-scale sabotage, cutting telephone cables and lines, stoning military vehicles in transit, and so forth. In the aforementioned period, there were several cases of serious disturbances and provocations of active military personnel and family members either in public places or by telephone—we learned in the Federal Secretariat for National Defense.

As regards articles and statements made by some retired military officers and other individuals in the Yugoslav press concerning YPA's involvement in archaeological

work and the possibility of the YPA's members discovering a collection of silverware, the competent bodies in the Federal Secretariat for National Defense said that the character of these statements is best illustrated by enormous differences in claims about where and when the collection was discovered. It is quite certain that the collection could not have simultaneously been discovered on the Isle of Brioni, in Samobor, Portoroz, or somewhere in Serbia, or that it could not have simultaneously been discovered in 1949, then 1950, 1977 or some other year.

Of course, the members of the YPA are very concerned, just like other citizens of Yugoslavia, that the truth should be established and that the SFRY should exercise its right to claim the silverware collection in accordance with the existing request of the official Yugoslav organs. However, it is not right that this case should in any way be abused, the competent organs of the YPA say, sticking to their last week's claim that the YPA's units have never conducted independent archaeological works and that therefore there is no evidence that Army members had discovered the silverware collection that has recently been the focus of the media's attention. All assumptions about the members of the YPA who could say something about this matter or know about the collection and its removal from the country have so far proved to be completely unfounded.

Slovene LC Expresses Concern About Lithuania

AU2903185890 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 28 Mar 90 p 5

[Unattributed report: "Ominous Clouds Over Lithuania"]

[Text] The Central Committee of the LCS [former initials of the League of Communists of Slovenia]-Party of Democratic Reform endorsed the statement of its Ljubljana organization "supporting democratic processes in Lithuania." Among other things, the statement welcomes democratic processes everywhere, particularly in Lithuania over which ominous clouds have recently been gathering, clouds that could endanger not only the Lithuanian spring, but also all democratic processes in the USSR. They reject and condemn in advance all aspirations or attempts to apply repressive military measures against the democratic development of Lithuania, as well as every centralist form of dictatorship. They are also in favor of a tolerant dialogue without any preconditions.

Markovic on Yugoslav-Austrian Relations

LD2903194890 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1425 GMT 29 Mar 90

[Text] Vienna, 29 Mar (TANJUG)—We have completely exposed ourselves and are now asking Austria and other Western countries to open themselves to us, stated Federal Executive Council [FEC] President Ante Markovic in his interview to the Austrian news agency APA, in which he examined the importance of reforms in the SFRY.

In his interview, given on the occasion of the upcoming visit of Austrian Chancellor Franz Vranitzky to Yugoslavia, the head of our government stressed that the introduction of radical economic changes qualified Yugoslavia for participation in free trade, and specified that the country's foreign exchange reserves of over $7.5 billion, the liberalization of exports, and the convertibility of the dinar create all conditions for Yugoslavia becoming a part of the European and world markets.

Pointing out that economic changes in Yugoslavia have managed to curb inflation completely and that the country is determined to reduce it to a level that suits European conditions, Ante Markovic stressed in particular that all Western countries, especially Austria, could help Belgrade in restructuring its economy and in linking it with all the European integration processes that would ultimately, he stressed, be in the interest of the West.

This type of support would give the Yugoslav economy free access to the Western markets and a chance to expand technological and scientific co-operation, said the FEC president. He drew attention to the fact that Austria, in connection with Yugoslavia's desire to become a member of the European Free Trade Association [EFTA], showed "great understanding."

In the interview, transmitted today, Markovic also drew attention to the main features of the upcoming constitutional and political changes in the SFRY within the context of our aspiration toward a multiparty system and market economy without a monopoly. In the assessement of the FEC president, Yugoslavia is trying to develop an "anti-dogmatic and anti-monopolistic system." In this system, all democratic and civil rights would have to be guaranteed "while the integrity of the country is preserved of course," he said.

Pointing out that all orientations toward changes and the democratization of the system are the key demands of the government, Markovic stressed that in all socialist countries the system and the complexity of changing it creates a real problem, and that with such ambitious projects in view, as is the case in Yugoslavia, we could expect increased social tension and exacerbated conflicts between some republics.

The problems do not really lie in human rights, the party system, or money, but in changing the entire infrastructure, institutions, and the way of thinking, as well as in the people's ability to adapt to new conditions, said Markovic. He added that for this reason the essential process in Yugoslavia "may perhaps last longer than necessary," but that no one could be exempt, even if we are to face "a deep crisis" as a result.